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ADN on Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Communique

LD3011132889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1040 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest (ADN)—The Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee underlined in a communique published on Thursday [30 November] in Budapest its consistent commitment to a policy of disarmament and constructive dialogue between the military blocs in Europe. The ministers held discussions in the Hungarian capital on the perspectives of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, while taking into account the decisions on this by governments of the allied countries on their reorganization and the course of the Vienna negotiations on conventional armed forces and arms in Europe.

In the communique, the advances achieved to date in improving international relations and reducing tension and confrontation are stressed. At the same time, the great contribution which the Warsaw Pact member states have made in the area of disarmament is emphasized. This has opened up further perspectives for new measures to consolidate peace, security, and confidence. A consistent expression of this was the unilateral measures carried out to date by the Warsaw Pact states on reductions in armed forces and arms, on shaping their defense character, and on reductions in arms expenditures.

Satisfaction is expressed on the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. meeting, the new initiatives for reducing strategic offensive weapons, on limiting nuclear weapons tests, on banning chemical weapons, and on destroying all the stocks of these weapons. The results of the meetings between representatives of the highest military leadership organs of the Warsaw Pact and NATO states, in particular, of the defense ministers of the USSR and the United States, were assessed positively. At the same time, it is pointed out that the positive processes which have begun still do not have an irreversible character and that a fundamental change in the area of disarmament has still not occurred. The military budgets and the programs for the perspectivist development of the armed forces of the United States and other NATO countries still aim at preserving military strength as the main instrument of their foreign policy. According to the communique, disquiet is caused by the fact that NATO holds fast to the strategy of deterrence and is concerned about excluding naval armed forces from the disarmament negotiations.

It is stressed in the document that the situation in Europe necessitates the commencement of negotiations on reducing and liquidating tactical nuclear weapons.

With regard to the joint and national military doctrines of the Warsaw Pact states, the directions of the further perfection of the Joint Armed Forces was further drawn up. The military buildup will take place in such a way that a sufficient and reliable defense is always guaranteed.

The communique says that the next session of the committee will take place in Berlin.

CEMA Session With Finland Ends

AU1611210989 Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 16 (BTA)—At the session which the commission on cooperation between the CEMA member countries and the Republic of Finland ended here today, a shared desire was expressed for raising the efficiency of the commission's work by replacing the outdated forms of work with a new style and up-to-date methods.

Over 73 cooperation programmes have been worked out on the basis of the direct contacts established with the commission's assistance between economic organisations and companies in the CEMA countries and in Finland. The most important of them cover environmental protection equipment, automated production control systems in the automotive, polymer and plastic industries and in electrical engineering, modern cargo transportation methods (containers and pallets), household chemicals, cable machines and ceramic materials.

In Bulgaria, the pulp and paper enterprises in Silistra, Mizia and Razlog will be remodelled with [words indistinct] commission, and environment-friendly equipment will be installed for the production of high-quality paper and cardboard.

The head of the Finnish delegation Mr Kalervo Hentilja [spelling as received], director general at the Ministry of Trade and Industry, said that the implementation of these programmes will influence the promotion of economic cooperation and of trade between the parties. Six standardization recommendations have been adopted in the field of the food industry.

Spokesman Supports Nonproliferation Treaty

AU0311112289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR in Favor of Full Universality of Nonproliferation Treaty"]

[Text] East Berlin—The spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry, Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, used the fact that the GDR ratified the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) exactly 20 years ago as an occasion to stress the topicality of the obligation to hold talks on disarmament, particularly in the nuclear field, included in the treaty.

The GDR will not only continue to consistently support the observance and the strengthening of the NPT, but will also, in the spirit of Article IV of the treaty, advocate further measures to achieve arms control and disarmament, the spokesman pointed out. The GDR considers a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons as well as a comprehensive halt to nuclear tests to be very urgent. It views the USSR's initiative for the unilateral stop of the production of highly enriched uranium for military purposes as a practical step toward nuclear disarmament.

In addition, the GDR supports the proposal submitted at the 44th meeting of the UN General Assembly aimed at concluding an international agreement on a halt and a ban of the production of fissionable material for military purposes and at using the extensive experiences of the International Atomic Energy Authority to verify this. Mikhail Gorbachev's most recent initiative to rid the Baltic Sea from nuclear weapons has also met with a positive response in the GDR.

In connection with the NPT, the GDR considers it absolutely necessary to ensure its full universality. Above all, it is important to include the states with significant nuclear activities—such as South Africa and Israel. The close cooperation between these two states in the nuclear-military sphere has been a cause of serious concern for quite some time, the spokesman stressed.

Delegation Head on Vienna CFE Talks

AU1311091789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Nov 89 p 5

[Interview With Ambassador Klaus-Dieter Ernst, head of the GDR delegation at the negotiations on conventional forces in Europe, by Olaf Standke; date and place not given: "Vienna: Hopes and Obstacles"]

[Text] Question: The signals from Vienna's Hofburg Conference Center are contradictory. On the one hand, there is the intention to put a complete treaty on the table in 1990; on the other, so far it has not even been possible to agree on the definition of a tank. How do these things fit?

Answer: First of all, the positive things: I think that we have a sensible working structure and a sensible atmosphere—businesslike, subject-oriented, and very specific. Both sides have submitted numerous working papers and have moved toward each other in conceptual questions. One example: The Warsaw Pact proposed six spheres of reductions. Originally, NATO wanted to exclude airplanes, helicopters, and personnel strengths and to limit itself only to tanks, armored combat vehicles, and artillery systems. Now we are negotiating on all categories. A common definition has already been found for artillery.

Question: Moving toward each other—this also means readiness for compromises by our side.

Answer: Correct, and this readiness exists, of course. Thus, with the recently presented working paper on the question of combat planes coming under the tactical or frontal aviation and combat helicopters, we have tried to take into consideration the positions of the NATO states and their security interests. NATO conceded this, but it is not yet satisfied. In this field we have to have further negotiations.

Question: And the reverse side of the coin?

Answer: In short, if we want to present a treaty next year, the current speed of negotiations is not sufficient. The details of what is to be reduced and how these reductions are to be carried out involve a number of still open, complicated questions.

Question: You paid tribute to the other side's steps, which promote negotiations. On the other hand, one has repeatedly gained the impression that NATO wants one-sided advantages.

Answer: In particular, from NATO headquarters we hear: An agreement? This is possible immediately, but on our conditions. NATO is a purely defensive alliance, and thus the demand for ensuring an inability to attack does not apply to it at all.

Question: What will be most important at the fourth round of negotiations, which will start on 9 November?

Answer: There are still differences of opinion on the question of planes. We still have considerable contradictions concerning troop strengths; among other things, NATO wants to exclude the 150,000 soldiers from NATO states who are stationed in the FRG. Concerning the agreement on regional thresholds, NATO wants to ignore the technical equipment in its depots. And it is also important to find solutions for the regional differentiation of the reduction area between the Atlantic and the Urals. These are the main problems now. At the same time, the five definitions of the elements of reduction, which are still lacking, have to be found. Finally, we have to bring the existing proposals on verification, information, and stabilizing measures closer to each other.

Question: These almost seem to be too many issues for one round.

Answer: It is difficult to say whether all this can be managed within 6 weeks. The entire process certainly also needs political stimuli. Therefore, we proposed a meeting of the foreign ministers at the beginning of next year.

Question: An important problem in Vienna is verification. While in the past the socialist countries have practically been accused of "being afraid of verification," it is now shown that some Western countries are intensively resisting far-reaching inspections in armament enterprises.

Answer: Our opinion is: Those who say yes to comprehensive arms reductions, to a new security structure in Europe, also have to say yes unreservedly to the verification of such agreements. We need a sensible, effective, and also financially realistic verification system, with on-site inspections, observation posts, the use of technical means, etc.

Question: It is also striking that the Western side often speaks about a first agreement in Vienna.

Answer: First of all, we want an agreement that covers the six categories I mentioned at the beginning. However, this certainly does not reach the goal of the entire negotiations—both sides' inability to attack. Thus, we will have to think about further steps.

Question: We spoke about differences within NATO. Are there not also specific national interests within the Warsaw Pact?

Answer: Yes, of course; this is normal. They arise from the geographical location, historical experiences, political priorities, etc. The clearer the interests of every member state become, the easier it is, in my view, to formulate common positions. The GDR, for instance, is not very happy about the NATO proposal to concentrate 60 percent of all allowable tanks in the Western part of central Europe. We are the first to be confronted with them. Expressing our interests in this connection is not only our right but our duty if we want to pursue a sensible policy for our citizens. However, despite all the problems, cooperation among the seven alliance states is in general proceeding well.

Pact Experts Discuss CW Control Measures

LD2711224989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1902 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Experts from the Warsaw Pact countries met in Berlin today for an exchange of experiences and opinions on their countries' efforts to control the export of chemicals which are designed for peaceful purposes, but which could also be used for the manufacture of chemical weapons. Such measures were part of the endeavors to bring about swift agreement on a treaty banning chemical weapons, according to a communication from the GDR Foreign Ministry. The experts had apparently welcomed the results of the conferences against chemical weapons held this year in Paris and Canberra.

Balkan Economic Cooperation Meeting Held

AU0311210589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1935 GMT 3 Nov 89

["Reunion on the Promotion of Economic and Commercial Cooperation Among Balkan Countries Ends"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Friday, November 3, the reunion on the promotion of economic and commercial cooperation among Balkan countries ended in Bucharest.

For three days representatives of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Hellenic Republic, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Republic of Turkey and the Socialist Republic of Romania exchanged opinions on the current stage of the economic and commercial cooperation among the countries in the region, identifying the leading domains of mutual interest and practical ways and means meant to facilitate the development and diversification of the inter-Balkan exchanges and cooperation.

Mentioned were the possibilities which could be offered by a tighter collaboration among the governmental bodies which coordinate the foreign trade activity, a greater contribution to expanding and diversifying the economic and commercial exchanges, made by the Chambers of Commerce and Industry in the Balkan countries, an intensification of contacts and meetings between business people, specialists and experts, in the financial and banking areas included.

During the reunion numerous proposals were made concerning the organization, in the near future, of some reunions on questions related to the development of the economic and commercial cooperation among the Balkan countries on: tighter cooperation among the Chambers of Commerce and Industry in the Balkan countries, inclusive of the possibility to set up a Balkan Chamber of Commerce and Industry and to organize a Balkan fair; looking into the commercial barriers and possible measures to develop the commercial exchanges; promoting cooperation in point of machine tools, hydraulic and pneumatic equipment, motor vehicles and replacement parts and in the production of food; developing an arbitration mechanism with a view to solving the commercial differences between companies in Balkan countries; promoting banking and financial cooperation in the region.

The participants considered it was necessary to look into the possibility to set up a permanent framework for the unfolding of the process of economic and commercial cooperation to support the materialization of concrete cooperation projects of Balkan countries in domains of mutual interest.

Also considered was the usefulness of organizing a reunion of representatives of the Ministries of the Economy or Foreign Trade every other year, similar to the current reunion in Bucharest, in order to evaluate the results scored in the inter-Balkan economic and commercial cooperation and look into measures for the further promotion of this cooperation.

Medgyessy Addresses Conference on Reforms

LD0911172689 Budapest MTI in English 1512 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 9 (MTI)—"After next year's elections, Hungary is likely to switch over to a coalition government, but the current administration has already adopted a new working style," Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy said on Thursday [9 November] to the international conference organized by the New York-based Global Economic Action Institute (GEAI) in Budapest.

Putting the attending foreign businessmen, financiers and the representatives of international organizations in the picture about the Hungarian economic reforms, Mr Medgyessy pointed out that ensuring a peaceful transition was important for the further success of reform. To this end, the government operates independently from the previous state party and is answerable to parliament. This, however, does not imply a non-political approach: the government pursues a dialogue with the parties and shapes its economic strategy accordingly.

Creating the right conditions for a peaceful transition through dialogue is necessary for the conclusion of the three-year accord with the international monetary fund, which is a crucial element in the external financing of the government's economic policy scheme.

The deputy prime minister pointed out that internal efforts on their own would not be sufficient to ensure the success of Hungarian reforms: external help is also required to overcome the crisis.

He said it was important to improve the access of Hungarian products to the market, accelerate the influx of working capital, and obtain further substantial credits that can be used freely. The least amount of progress seems to have been made in this latter field: it appears as though the international organizations, governments and banks have been adopting a wait-and-see attitude, and this is jeopardizing successful reform and could give the next leadership even greater headaches.

The deputy prime minister stressed that the government's recent measures reflect the endeavour not to let problems snowball. Suspending and limiting the personal travel allowance was unavoidable for safeguarding the country's solvency and for ensuring things were not made worse for the next government.

45th Homeland Liberation Anniversary Celebrated

Marxist-Leninist Delegations Arrive

AU2611134189 Tirana ATA in English 0954 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Tirana, November 26 (ATA)—At the invitation of the Central Committee of the PLA [Albanian Workers Party], the delegation of the Portuguese CP (Reconstructed) headed by Eduardo Pires, first secretary of the party CC [Central Committee]; the delegation of the CP of Spain (M-L) [Marxist-Leninist], headed by Raoul Marco, first secretary of the party CC; the delegation of the CP of Labour of the Dominican Republic, headed by Manuel Almonte Salazar, member of the Political Committee of the party, arrived to our country to attend the celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution.

The delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties were welcomed by the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Foto Cami, the director of the Foreign Department of the party Central Committee, Agim Popa, and other comrades.

More Delegations Arrive

AU2811091989 Tirana ATA in English 0744 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Tirana, November 28 (ATA)—At the invitation of the Central Committee of the PLA [Albanian Workers Party], the delegation of the CP of Canada (M-L) [Marxist-Leninist], headed by Hardial Bains, first secretary of the party CC [Central Committee]; the delegation of the CP of Brazil, headed by Ronald Freitas, member of the Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the party; the delegation of the CP of Denmark (M-L), headed by Jorgen Pederson, member of the Secretariat of the party CC; the delegation of the CP (M-L) of Ecuador, headed by Camillo Almeida, secretary of the CC of the party, arrived on November 27 in our country to attend the celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution.

At the airport they were welcomed by Comrade Foto Cami, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania; Agim Popa, director of the Foreign Department of the party Central Committee, and other comrades.

Palestinian TU Delegation Arrives

AU2911142789 Tirana ATA in English 0956 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Tirana, November 29 (ATA)—At the invitation of the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, a delegation of the General Federation of the Palestinian Working People, headed by Abel Ataya [name as received], member of its Executive Committee, arrived in our country on November 28 to attend the celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution. [passage omitted]

Carcani Gives Speech

AU2911145089 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Report on speech by Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the solemn meeting held at the Palace of Congresses in Tirana on 28 November to mark the 77th anniversary of Albania's independence in the framework of the celebrations for the 45th liberation anniversary—with recorded portions]

[Text] [Begin Carcani recording] Comrades: This year the Albanian people are celebrating the magnificent jubilee of the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation and of the triumph of the people's revolution, those decisive victories that brought about the greatest upset in their history. The month of November has been a month of momentous events in our history and in the struggles of our people for freedom, independence, and progress. November 1912 gave the Albanian people, after almost 5 centuries of captivity, their dreamed-of independence. November 1941 is related to an event that would mark the most radical turning point in the destiny of our people—the founding of the Albanian Communist Party—while November 1944 marked the birth of the new Albania that we are enjoying today.

The events that we are commemorating during the month of November may belong to different historical periods, but they are closely linked with each other. During both of these periods, the Albanian people, driven by their freedom-loving and progressive aspirations, have clashed with numerous and powerful enemies. The road to victory was fraught with extraordinary difficulties. However, these difficulties have never intimidated the Albanian people. History has taught the Albanians that those peoples who fail to fight disappear, that freedom is not donated by anyone, and that it must be won through efforts, struggles, and sacrifices, without depending hopefully on others.

Our national renaissance, which was crowned with the Proclamation of Independence, and the Antifascist National Liberation War has proved this. Our people fought, therefore they did not disappear. The Albanians fought and they won. We commemorate these glorious anniversaries with legitimate pride in our past. The party has taught our people to appreciate this glorious history, to respect the patriotic, progressive, and revolutionary traditions that they have inherited. The party has taught the people to delve deeply into the past in order to learn about the present and the future.

The great action performed by Ismail Qemali and the other distinguished patriots, who 77 years ago, on 28

November 1912, raised the flag in Vlore and proclaimed national independence, crowned the gigantic efforts of our people, challenging not only the Sublime Porte [the Ottoman Empire], but also the intentions of the imperialist powers and neighboring chauvinistic monarchies of the time to perpetuate the foreign domination on our soil, to partition our country, and to erase Albania from the political map of the Balkans.

History has witnessed that the Albanians are not only men of the rifle, but also men of thinking and culture. Albania has given birth to innumerable distinguished people, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, men of the rifle and of the pen. The people have given birth to fighters and strategists, philosophers and politicians, whose hearts harbored a revolutionary spirit and who tried by all means to liberate the country from the innumerable hordes of foreign and domestic enemies. From this viewpoint, too, our people have always remained on a higher plane than their enemies and oppressors, all of whom tried to present the Albanians as barbarians with no culture. A people who are fighting for their legitimate rights, to defend and develop their language, to promote their culture and progressive traditions—such a people can never be barbarians without culture. The Albanians have fought against all of those who have tried to deny, denigrate, and erase these rights under any pretext.

The Proclamation of Independence in 1912 was a great historic victory, but it was not complete and secure. It took years on end and innumerable popular uprisings before Albanian society managed, under the leadership of communists, to carry out the greatest and most profound revolution in its history, a revolution that established the people's authority and opened up the new era of socialist construction in Albania. The Antifascist National Liberation War is the most brilliant period in the glorious history of our people. From the viewpoint of its substance and of the tasks that it raised, the scope of the people's participation, and its consequences this revolution represents a great qualitative leap, a memorable victory in history. The key to this victory lies in the fact that this war and this revolution were led by a genuinely Marxist-Leninist party, a party guided by a scientific world outlook and closely bound to the people.

During the years of the Antifascist National Liberation War, the Albanian Communist Party worked out a program which outlined the solutions to the imperative problems of the time: the country's liberation, the regaining of the freedom and independence that had been lost, and the establishment of a social system that would make the people masters of their own destiny and would open up the road of progress to the country. The Albanian Communist Party saw in the people themselves, in their magnificent patriotic and fighting traditions, in their unequalled vitality and stoicism, and in their creative genius, the foundation, the decisive force that would wage the war against the invaders and that would launch the revolution. The new era, the era to which Enver Hoxha led us, brought to life the factor that named the people, raising them on the tribune of history stronger than ever before. [end Carcani recording]

After speaking about historical moments such as the political unity of the people in the National Liberation Front, the creation of the National Liberation Army, which gathered together over 70,000 partisans, the efforts made by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha to fulfill their duties as members of the antifascist coalition of the peoples, and the establishment of the people's power, Comrade Adil Carcani went on to say:

[Begin Carcani recording] The question of power is the key question throughout the historic period of socialism. Therefore, the party has insisted and continues to insist that we should constantly protect and strengthen the people's power, that we should constantly revolutionize it, particularly with the aim of protecting it against the dangers of bureaucracy. The party's teachings and the directives and tasks of the eighth Central Committee plenum on this question are of vital importance. They must always be at the center of attention and we must apply them step by step and every day.

Celebrating the glorious November anniversaries, we see not only the victories that have been achieved, but also the sacrifices that had to be made, the blood that has been shed by entire generations for this soil, for our beloved country. Our gratitude goes to the heroic partisan fighters who spared nothing for the country's liberation and the triumph of the people's revolution. Our gratitude goes to those immortal heroes who shed their blood for the new Albania that we are enjoying today. The present and future generations will be grateful and will bow with profound respect before their sacred deed. They will remain throughout the centuries to become torches of the country's freedom, independence, and progress. [applause]

Commemorating the 45th anniversary of the victory of the revolution and of the establishment of the people's regime, of the birth of the new Albania that we are enjoying, the hearts and minds of the party and of all the people go with profound affection and respect to the great and unforgettable leader, the founder and leader of the party, the inspirer, organizer, and glorious commander of the National Liberation War, and the architect of the country's socialist construction, Comrade Enver Hoxha. [applause, shouts of "Party, Enver, we are always ready!"] His ideas, teachings, and magnificent deeds are embedded in the foundations of Socialist Albania.

The essence of the party's economic policy for the country's development on the socialist road is represented by the country's industrialization. The industrialization program, at every stage of our socialist construction, has always been intended to utilize in the interest of the people, the country's progress, and its independence all of the natural wealth of the country, also using efficiently the great human capital that we possess. We currently have a complex multi-branched

heavy and light industry, based on the country's assets, an industry which meets the needs of the economy. We have a single energy system with a positive balance, a harmonious development of industry and agriculture, a mature workers class that is spread all over the country. As Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed, all of this is a result of the farsighted policy of industrialization that has been consistently applied by the party under Comrade Enver Hoxha's guidance. [applause]

Now industry provides 60 percent of the general social production and creates about half of the national income and two-thirds of our exports. About 8-9 million tons of valuable minerals and fuels are being extracted and processed annually, compared with a few hundreds of thousands 4 decades ago. These developments have raised our Albania to a higher stage of development.

The agrarian problem has always been at the center of the party's attention and has always been seen as a key to resolving economic, political, and social problems. The socialist collectivization of agriculture represents one of the most magnificent victories of our socialist construction. The peasantry's entry onto the socialist road was of vital importance not only for the development of agriculture and in building the new life in the countryside, but also for the destiny of the construction of socialism throughout the country. [applause] [end Carcani recording]

After stressing the party's wise and farsighted policy of collectivization, to which it devoted special care, as well as the strengthening of the alliance between the workers class and the peasantry, which has deserved and will continue to deserve every contribution and support by society, Comrade Adil Carcani went on to say:

[Begin Carcani recording] The cooperative system has been fully vindicated in our country and has shown its permanent vitality and determination to progress on the road of innovations. The combination of economic relations between group and state property, the intensification of production over a large area, the introduction of industrial activities and the adaptation of production structures to suit natural conditions constitute a process that is being developed daily, thus increasing the production potential in agriculture. The establishment of collective small plots, as an original way, represents another step in the direction of utilizing the advantages of socialist property in the countryside.

The fullest possible harmonization of economic methods in planning and management has given fresh impetus to the development of agricultural production and its improved efficiency. The stability of the rural populace as the basis for economic conditions, the introduction of urban customs, and the elevation of the material and cultural living standards of the peasantry have become powerful factors for the progress of the country's entire life. The experience of socialist development in our rural areas is a living example that testifies to the correctness of the road followed by the party and refutes all the practices of revisionism, with its reimposition of private property and capitalism. [applause] [end Carcani recording]

Later Comrade Adil Carcani dwelled on the economic and social policies of our party and state in continually improving the prosperity of the people and providing ever more fully for their material, educational, cultural, and health needs. Albania's 45-year experience, he stressed, is the most vivid testimony to the vitality of socialism. Later, Comrade Adil Carcani said:

[Begin Carcani recording] The victories built on in these 45 years of the country's economic and social development assume greater dimensions and value when we consider that they have been achieved from our own resources, relying on our own human, financial, and economic potential, and on the knowledge and thinking of our wonderful people. The constant implementation of the principle of self-reliance has made our socialist economy more able every day to stand on its own feet, has secured the country's genuine independence and sovereignty, and has enabled it to successfully resist all of the humiliating pressures and influences of the capitalist-revisionist world and to march unswervingly on the socialist road.

The conception and practical implementation of the principle of self-reliance, which Albania pursues in every field, does not aim at self-seclusion or indicate a tendency to autarchy, as those who do not know or do not wish to understand the reality of our country try to depict it, on the basis of certain prejudices against socialist Albania. On the contrary, life has shown that self-reliance has not only not hampered Albania, but has created conditions for Albania to continually augment the volume of trade and to expand our economic, cultural, scientific, and technical cooperation with different countries, with which we now exchange one-tenth of our social product. We will also continue on this road in the future, and will never accept forms and practices of economic relations which encroach on our political independence and our socialist social order and lead to subjection and loss of national sovereignty. [applause] [end Carcani recording]

Comrade Adil Carcani stressed that, in comparison with 1 year ago, our social product this year is expected to rise by about 7 percent, national incomes by 10 percent, production for society 12 percent, the volume of foreign trade 25 percent, the retail turnover by 6 percent, and so forth. He then spoke about the basic guidelines for the progress of industry and agriculture in the future, which, like other branches, will rely on and be led forward by the development of production forces and the emancipation of social life. He said later:

[Begin Carcani recording] Comrades, the tasks facing us today in pressing ahead with the country's socialist construction in ways appropriate to its present stage of development assume a special significance, importance,

and topicality under the present international conditions, especially in connection with the events of recent years in the Soviet Union and some other East European countries which are moving openly toward the full reestablishment of capitalism in their economies and superstructures.

The AWP [Albanian Workers Party] and Comrade Enver Hoxha, not only today, but decades ago, at the time when the revisionists imposed their course on the Soviet Union and son other countries, made it clear that this course would ndermine socialist relations and lead to the restoration apitalism, to crises, defeat, and disillusionment. Now, even those who took a skeptical view of our party's analysis are forced to admit that the AWP was utterly correct. [applause]

As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the eighth party Central Committee plenum, it is not communism or the doctrine of Karl Marx that has failed in these countries. On the contrary, it is the abandonment of the socialist road and the replacement of bourgeois ideology for proletarian ideology that has led to the general unraveling.

Our party has never considered the struggle against revisionism purely as a matter of theoretical polemics, but as a profoundly practical question that involves the destiny of socialist society.

Our party therefore never confined this struggle merely to a criticism of revisionism, but drew lessons and gained experience from what happened in the countries where the revisionists came to power and took steps to ensure that such a tragedy never occurred in our country. This is to the outstanding credit of our party, and this is how we are acting today as well. Current events in the countries of East Europe strengthen our conviction of the justice and vital importance of this correct and principled stand. [applause]

Our conception of the socialism we are building is not a petrified one. We have seen, and see today, our socialist society in constant dialectical development and renewal. In the process of this development, some things become out of date and become hindrances, new problems emerge that cannot be solved in the old ways, new and previously nonexistent opportunities arise, and broader horizons open up. Therefore, we do not make a fetish of anything, and do not hesitate to change what should be changed. On the contrary, we have always been and remain in continual quest for new solutions that correspond to the changes that occur, to the demands of the time, and to new conditions and opportunities. However, we have made and always will make these changes within the framework of our socialist system and principles, never outside it, and never on the path of revisionist and capitalist reform. We have unswerving faith in socialism as the most just, democratic, and humane social order, able to answer all of history's challenges, and to solve every problem on the basis of socialist relations, opening up boundless horizons for progress in all fields. [applause]

The party has been and remains a sure guarantee of our forward march on socialism's brilliant road. Socialist Albania's 45 years of experience proves that the existence of a Marxist-Leninist party, its undivided leadership, and the monolithic unity of the people around the party are decisive factors for the existence of a genuine socialist order and are the principal guarantee of its continual construction, defense, and inexorable development toward new heights. Albania did not undergo the tragedy of revisionism, because in our country, acting step by step on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the party stood by its pure proletarian principles, and remained revolutionary. The party is strong, because it never allowed its leadership to weaken or fade in any part of the life of our socialist society, and because the party retained its purity and continually invigorated its ties with the masses. [applause]

One of the fundamental principles of socialism is the continuous development and strengthening of socialist democracy and the ever broader and more effective involvement of the masses in solving state and social problems, working out policy, making decisions, and exerting their control over everything, everywhere. By drawing lessons from what happened in the Soviet Union and some other countries, where bureaucratic distortion and the alienation of the masses from the government of the country paved the way for revisionism and the degeneration of the socialist state, our party has waged a determined struggle against this grave peril. However, we do not consider this struggle as something over and done with. The struggle against the evil of bureaucracy, to open up new prospects for the development of the democracy of the masses, and to consolidate the ties of the party and state with the people always remains on the agenda. The eighth party Central Committee plenum gave us (?new strength for it). It opens up to us a broad field of action to further deepen the process of the democratization of state and social life.

The socialist economy has also developed in new and original ways. It has adapted to the country's conditions and the people's needs. Socialist relations in production have created great scope for the development of productive forces. However, contradictions necessarily emerge here also, and these must be overcome promptly and in a correct way. The fundamental aim is for relations in production to provide as much incentive as possible, to make people as interested as possible in their work and production, to correctly balance the general interests of society with those of the group and of individual working people, and to eradicate purely administrative ways of managing the economy, replacing them with economic methods.

We see the present and future of our socialist society in incessant, dynamic change and development, and in constant quest of solutions for problems that arise. Our party has made it clear that there never has been and never will be any kind of change or concession in our positions regarding major questions of principle—the defense of the freedom, independence, and national sovereignty of our socialist homeland; the leading role of our Marxist-Leninist party in the entire life of the country; the protection and consolidation of social property and the power of the people; and distribution according to every worker's amount and quality of labor. [applause]

In all these basic fields, our party and people will always be vigilant, and will constantly wage the class struggle against everything that sullies, weakens, or in the slightest way violates these principled positions and the noble interests of socialism and the homeland.

Comrades, we cannot fail to mention our party and state's foreign policy at such a magnificent jubilee, and declare that it has been and remains one of the basic and essential factors in the successes and victories recorded by our country in the 45 years of its free life.

The foreign policy of socialist Albania is a policy that was born in the people's revolution that led not only to national but social liberation. It is a policy born of deep, age-old, freedom-loving aspirations, from the strong antifascist and democratic spirit that marked the resistance of the peoples during World War II, and from fervent communist internationalism. It is a policy that was forged and shaped in the titanic efforts of our people and party, led by our great Enver Hoxha, to confront the pressures, conspiracies, and blockades of international reaction, which could not reconcile itself to the arrival of the power of the people, but wanted to turn Albania into a subservient country, subject to and enslaved by the great imperialist powers. The content, aims, and directions of our foreign policy are also closely tied to the socialist social system that has arisen in Albania. Without or apart from socialism, it would be not only inconceivable, but impractical. Without socialism, the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of the state and the people would be not a reality but empty words.

Ensuring the freedom and independence of the homeland, the total and unconditional exercise of its national sovereignty, and the defense of the achievements of the people's revolution and our people's peaceful labors have always lain at the center of our foreign policy as its principal aim and fundamental goal. Our attitudes toward world events, our specific activities in the field of international relations, and our assessments and judgments of various issues of our times have also been determined in accordance with this line.

Our plan has always been, and we have demonstrated it in practice, that we can live and defend ourselves self-reliantly, through our own labor and sweat, without being indebted to anyone for anything.

We have not joined any of the political, economic, and military forms of integration that are so much in vogue these days, not out of great exactingness, but because we did have not wished to confine our sovereignty and our independent judgment, or to hamper our actions by different contractual conditions. We have opposed such integration on the basis of the firm conviction that all forms of rapprochement and cooperation between peoples can be engaged in only by states that are totally free, sovereign, and equal—and not on the basis of hegemonist and expansionist policies.

It suffices to mention the presence of the imperialist forces themselves in these agglomerates and their determining role in them to realize what rights other members enjoy, how much say they have, and how much their interests are taken into consideration.

When we oppose the aggressive powers of the superpowers, the neocolonialist methods of exploiting the peoples such as humiliating credits and loans, and the discriminatory and exploitative system imposed by capital on international economic relations, we are accused of following an isolationist policy. If, by isolation, they imply our refusal to become involved in such machinery, we will firmly repeat that socialist Albania does not and will not tolerate ties of this kind. [applause]

Certainly, this determined and principled position has compelled us to make sacrifices, because the world has been and continues to be filled with threats and blackmail, filled with dangers and the unexpected. But the price is very low compared to the great strength these sacrifices have brought to securing our sovereignty, defense of the homeland, and socialist victories. [applause]

Albania has always wished and continues to wish friendship and cooperation with all countries, but in complete freedom and full equality, on the basis of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, for everybody's right to choose the social system it wishes to have freely and without interference, and for the well-known and publicly accepted principles of peaceful coexistence.

We endorse the undeniable right of every people to live freely, independently, and with sovereignty in its own country, not only as an ideological concept, but also because we cannot deny others of what we desire for ourselves.

Albania will always be on the side of those who defend the freedom and independence threatened by imperialist goals, just as it will always be in solidarity with all revolutionary, liberation, and democratic forces in the world, with all those who are against war and for peace. [applause]

We have also been looking at and assessing the events in Europe proceeding from this principle, from this basic criterion. Albania has opposed Europe's division into military blocs; it has opposed the presence of foreign bases in Europe, global confrontation and the cold war,

and the creation of closed economic associations. These divisions and splits have caused great harm to the peoples. They have kept them constantly under tension, under the general insecurity promoted by the unchecked rivalry and aggressiveness of the superpowers on our continent, under the terror of atomic war.

The events that have taken place recently in East Europe have created a confused situation, which makes the established balances even more delicate than they were before. Since the changes that are occurring are a result of ideological and political confusion created in the sixties, the domestic and external consequences they may lead to are unknown. Many illusions have now been created both in the East and in the West, as well as all kinds of euphoria. However, one thing is well known: Confronted with realities, illusions turn into disillusion, and euphoria changes into desperation. The dangers arising from the destabilized situation that has been created in those countries could have harmful consequences, not only for the peoples in those countries, but also for international relations.

It is extremely desirable and in the common interest that confrontation in Europe be replaced by all-round cooperation. However, were this cooperation to be burdened by demands and conditions for political transformations and the replacement of economic systems in various countries, this would remain a confrontation under another name.

As a Balkan country with a direct interested in the stability of our peninsula, we have followed events in this region with special interest. We have noticed with pleasure the general desire to establish a fruitful dialogue among the Balkan countries, in order to utilize the numerous possibilities that exist to establish cooperation in all fields of mutual interest, to consolidate peace and security in our region.

The process that has been initiated is promising and Albania, for its part, will spare no efforts that it may be constantly promoted despite all the difficulties that may exist, of which we are fully aware. We hope that the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, which is due to be held next year in Tirana, will bring about a new contribution in the rapprochement, friendship, and increased cooperation between our peoples.

In the same way it is interested in strengthening multilateral cooperation in the Balkans, socialist Albania is also interested in strengthening good-neighborly relations with all the countries surrounding it, as well as in increasing mutual cooperation, understanding, and confidence.

It is in this spirit that we have also considered the Adriatic initiative and we have expressed our interest in it. This same spirit has also guided us in our efforts to establish as normal relations as possible with Yugoslavia, which unfortunately are not normal. The anti-Albanian campaign that has been going on for such a long time prevents the Yugoslav leadership from viewing the present realities objectively and coolly. These realities cannot be reconciled with the existence of national inequalities and the lack of a desire for good-neighborly relations.

The solution to the problems of Kosovo, not through violence and tanks but on the basis of complete and inviolable respect for the national and democratic rights of the Albanians, not through killings, imprisonment, insults, and discrimination but through dialogue and the observation of the will of the peoples, would greatly help to overcome the numerous and severe difficulties in which Yugoslavia finds itself. Such a solution would strengthen its stability and progress, as well as strengthen the confidence of its neighbors in its foreign policy.

The current international situation is in movement and constantly changing. The party has constantly instructed us to watch it with great attention and to draw appropriate conclusions in order to operate in the interest of the freedom and independence of the country, and the peaceful labor of our people.

Loyally adhering to our foreign policy principles that have guided us hitherto and that have secured for us all those victories, socialist Albania will always remain an active participant in the struggle to strengthen peace and international security, a resolute supporter of all democratic and progressive processes in the international relations between the various states and peoples.

Comrades, celebrating the jubilee of the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation and of the triumph of the people's revolution, we look at the future optimistically. The historic achievements of the past 45 years have created a sound situation in every respect. All necessary conditions and premises exist to further promote and to raise the country's socialist construction to a higher qualitative level, to make our beloved country even more beautiful, more developed, and stronger, and to make the life of our people better and more joyful. Our Workers Party led by Comrade Ramiz Alia [applause], which is consistently following and creatively developing the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and of our unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, is a guarantee for this. Our industrious, patriotic, and invincible people, united as one around the party, and our people's power, closely linked with the masses and constantly being strengthened and democratized, are a guarantee for this.

Our country possesses a strong defense and a sound, consolidated, and stable socialist economy capable of resolving all problems raised by the dialectical development of our society and to set itself new and higher goals. Nothing can stop us on our progress. Let us mobilize all efforts, all our physical and mental energies, to honorably fulfill all tasks confronting us, to enter the last year of the current 5-year period and the next 5-year period prepared in every possible way to achieve new successes and victories.

Happy November festivities. [applause]

Long live the people. [applause]

Long live the 45th liberation anniversary. [applause]

Long live the AWP and its Central Committee led by Comrade Ramiz Alia. [applause]

Glory to the immortal revolutionary deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha. [applause]

Tirana Parade Described

AU2911182789

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1430 GMT on 29 November broadcasts a 22-minute report on a military and civilian parade held this morning at 1000 hours local time in Tirana to mark the 45th anniversary of Albania's liberation.

A reporter on the spot describes the "joyful atmosphere" along the Martyrs of the Nation Avenue. She reports that at 1000 hours "Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee first secretary, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, arrives on the platform and greets the crowd with clenched fist." The announcer also reports the arrival of other party and state leaders: "Adil Carcani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, and Vangjel Cerrava."

The reporter then goes on to say that Kico Mustaqi, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and Chief of the General Staff of the Army, presents the units that will participate in the parade to Prokop Murra, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of people's defense.

After reviewing the parade, Prokop Murra delivers a 6-minute speech on the occasion, the first half of which is inaudible due to very poor acoustics. Murra's speech is followed immediately by the military parade.

The reporter describes the various units which are participating in the military part of the parade, while a military band is playing in the background: The parade is led by an officer holding the National Flag, followed by war veterans, cadets and officers from the Skenderbeu Military School, for noncommissioned officers, and the Enver Hoxha Higher Military School. The reporter says that next a unit composed by women officers has reached the platform where the leaders are gathered, followed by a unit of university students, and officers of the Military Academy, which the reporter says is the highest military education institution of the country. They are followed by a unit bearing the name of the First Partisan Assault Brigade and by various Army, Air Force, Navy, and Police units, the latter being described by the announcer as "the beloved arm of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The military part of the parade is followed by pupils of secondary schools and 6,000 workers from various Tirana enterprises, groups of folk dancers, sportsmen and sportswomen, and more schoolchildren; 2,000 Tirana University students conclude the parade. The announcer says that "Comrade Ramiz Alia waves to the crowd and then leaves the platform."

Marko Speaks at Reception

AU3011104789 Tirana ATA in English 0835 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Tirana, November 30 (ATA)—On occasion of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, the party Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and the Council of Ministers gave a reception at the Palace of Brigades on November 29, in the evening.

Attending were heroes of the people and socialist labour, vanguard workers and cooperativists, deputies and advisers, members and relatives of martyrs' families, working people and leading cadres of departments, institutions and central mass organizations, and other guests.

The participants burst out into applauses upon the arrival of Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and the other party and state leaders, Comrades Adil Carcani, Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, and Vangjel Cerrava; Nexhmije Hoxha, member of the party Central Committee and chairwoman of the General Council of the DFA [Democratic Front of Albania]; Xhafer Spahiu, vice president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; the members of the party Central Committee Haki Toska, Haxhi Lleshi, Pilo Peristeri, Spiro Koleka, and Shefqet Peci.

Attending were also members of the party Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and Government.

The delegations of Marxist-Leninist parties, the friendship associations, friends and well-wishers of our country as well as compatriots residing in different countries of the world, heads of diplomatic representations accredited to the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania. Those present at this reception, expressed to Comrade Ramiz Alia their wishes for the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland.

Those present were greeted by Comrade Rita Marko who said among others:

It is a special honour and pleasure for me to greet you on behalf of the party Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and of the Council of Ministers and to wish you: Happy the great November celebrations.

Our social system, Comrade Rita Marko said further on, has proved its superiority in all the directions. With the party in the van and with the people's power, elected and established upon the free will of the people, Albania will flourish and progress uninterruptedly in the future on the road of the socialist construction.

In the course of this jubilee year, the masses of the people are swept over by an enthusiastic atmosphere and all-sided mobilization. Plans in many branches of economy have been fulfilled and overfulfilled, agriculture provided a larger agricultural and livestock production than a year ago, important steps were taken in other sectors as well, the defence of the homeland further strengthened, the unity of the people round the party was further steeled. These achievements, which gladden our compatriots, friends and well wishers throughout the world, further enhance our confidence and determination to march courageously as until now on the road of the socialist construction, on that road our glorious party is farsightedly leading us to, that road which was indicated by our great and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

We attentively follow the course of events in the world. The situations are complex. What strikes one's attention in Europe are the changes occurring in the Eastern countries. From the ideological point of view, the attitude of our party regarding these processes is known. At the same time, we wish these countries strengthen their national freedom and independence and guarantee their sovereign development without the interference of imperialism and the other reactionary forces.

Our country opposes every plot concocted by the superpowers at the expense of the peoples, the cause of peace and international security. It will back up as until now every endeavour of the peoples to realize their legitimate aspirations and will persistently pursue the policy of friendship, peace and collaboration with all the countries on the basis of observing freedom and independence, the noninterference in the internal affairs and mutual profit. Our policy of good neighbourliness, rapprochement and friendship with the peoples and countries of the Balkans is an unchanged stand. We will continue all our efforts so to strengthen the spirit of mutual understanding and confidence, and to expand the relations among our states, Comrade Rita Marko said in conclusion.

The reception passed in a very joyful atmosphere.

Alia Greets SFRY's Drnovsek on National Day

AU2911143389 Tirana ATA in English 0944 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Tirana, November 29 (ATA)—Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, sent the following message of greetings to the chairman of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Janez Drnovsek:

"On occasion of your national day, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and in my name, I convey to you and through you to the peoples of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, sincere greetings for well-being and prosperity. I want to express my confidence that the development of relations between our two countries in the spirit of good neighbourliness would serve the progress of the two peoples, the strengthening of peace and collaboration in the Balkans."

Mladenov Visit to USSR Scheduled This Month

AU3011192289 Sofia BTA in English 1851 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, November 30 (BTA)—At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the Central Comittee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council, will pay a working visit to the Soviet Union at the beginning of December.

Spokesman Bokov Announces Leaders' Wages

AU3011205389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Report on news conference with government spokesman Filip Bokov with local and foreign reporters—place not given]

[Text] The first news conference given by government spokesman Filip Bokov with foreign and Bulgarian media took place today.

The news conference was held on the occasion of this morning's Council of Ministers session.

First of all, the country's situation was discussed against the background of the accelerated processes of economic development and of general social development.

In this unusual atmosphere, specific steps were taken to overcome accumulated problems. A government commission has been established to systematically list the problems and their solutions.

According to the Council of Ministers the main efforts until the end of 1989 should concentrate on plan fulfillment, the mobilization of all forces, and resources.

Draft projects to be submitted to the forthcoming National Assembly Session were discussed. They include draft laws on meetings and demonstrations, and on social associations of citizens. Appropriate Penal Code amendments are also envisioned. The government believes that the adoption of such laws would greatly contribute to the establishment of a new, democratic social system in our country. Amendments expected to decriminalize certain actions are also envisioned. Thus, for example, Article 108 of the Penal Code is expected to be amended. Articles 110, 111, 112, 112 A, 113, 166, 180, 271, 311 A, paragraph 3, and Article 321 of the Penal Code are expected to be repealed.

After the National Assembly has approved these amendments, those who have been punished according to the aforementioned laws shall be granted amnesty. By the end of December, a program for a consistent amendment of legislation is expected, so that the laws may be adjusted to the restructuring process under way in our country and to the international obligations our country has assumed.

A decree on the effective use and retraining of manpower is also envisioned which introduces a qualitatively new approach to this problems. It envisions that workers who have lost their jobs for various reasons, reasons for which they are not responsible—should be granted financial compensation for a 3-month period amounting to their gross wages. After these 3 months have elapsed, they shall be granted, respectively, 90, 80, and 70 percent of their gross wages for another 3-month period. If the citizen in question is not yet employed after this period, he shall be granted compensations amounting to minimum labor wages valid in the country.

Filipo Bokov also reported during his news conference on the decree adopted in connection with the solution of certain youth problems related to the improvement of the credit system for young people and young families. Higher credits shall be granted for the construction and purchase of housing units, amounting to 25,000 leva. Higher credits shall also be granted for other urgent needs at much more favorable repayment conditions, especially following the birth of a second and third child.

The wages of responsible party apparatus workers were announced at the news briefing.

Up to 10 November 1989, the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee general secretary received monthly wages amounting to 2,500 leva. He did not receive a salary for his post as State Council chairman. According to the decision adopted by the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee, the general secretary—as of 10 November 1989—was assigned a salary amounting to 1,800 leva. He is not paid for his function as State Council chairman.

A Central Committee secretary, regardless of whether he is a Politburo member, is assigned a monthly salary amounting to 1,300 leva. A minister who is also a Politburo member is entitled to 1,200 leva per month. Politburo members who are not Central Committee secretaries or ministers are assigned wages for the function they are exercising, which means that they do not receive additional salaries for being Politburo members.

The head of a Central Committee Department receives a monthly salary amounting to 800 leva. The first secretary of a party Oblast committee—800 leva, secretaries of municipal BCP committees in towns with over 5,000 inhabitants, who are 37 people as as whole, receive monthly wages amounting to 600 leva. Secretaries of municipal party committees in towns whose population is under 50,000 are entitled to monthly wages amounting to 450 leva.

The monthly wages of responsible state leaders were also announced. The chairman of the State Council receives a monthly salary amounting to 1,500 leva, the chairman of the National Assembly receives 1,500 leva, and the chairman of the Council of Ministers receives 1,500 leva. The first deputy chairman of the State Council is entitled to a monthly salary amounting to 1,200 leva; a deputy chairman of the State Council, 950 leva. The chief

secretary of the State Council is entitled to 950 leva. Deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers receive 1,200 leva; ministers who are members of the Council of Ministers Bureau receive 900 leva; ministers, 800 leva; first deputy ministers 670 leva; deputy ministers, 640 leva; chairmen of Oblast people's councils are entitled to monthly wages amounting to 800 leva; mayors of municipalities with over 50,000 inhabitants are entitled to monthly wages amounting up to 600 leva and those of municipalities with a population under 50,000, up to 450 leva.

Yovchev Reveals Details of Officials' Pay

AU2311115389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Nov 89 p 2

[Report by Plamen Enchev, Lulivera Krusteva, Boyko Vutov, Rositsa Stancheva, and Katya Yaneva: "What Shall We Do Together?"]

[Excerpts] "What shall we do together?" It was with this question that the new minister's first workday began. The collective of Sofia's 6 September enterprise, ostensibly one of the "privileged ones," does not recall a visit by a member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]—let alone an opportunity to informally talk on a first- name basis with him about numerous problems—being made for a long time. The problems emerged one after another in the conversations between Comrade Mincho Yovchev and the 6 September Plant workers in Sofia. [passage omitted]

The people asked Comrade Mincho Yovchev specific questions and received specific answers. The questions wvaried from what the highest salary in Bulgaria is, to the workers's personal opinion on how to resolve the most urgent problems. Proposals were made to profoundly analyze all workplaces—their working conditions and wages to inform the people about the construction of various buildings, about how the money from their voluntary work is being used in Strazhitsa [the town mostly affected by the 1987 earthquake], and so forth.

It is difficult to summarize the opinions that were expressed during the 4-hour dialogue.

The workers greeted with general approval the announcement made by Comrade Yovchev that only one government residence—the one in Varna—will be used for foreign guests, and that only one single hunting park in northern Bulgaria will be preserved. The "Perla" Residence will be given to the pioneers. The amount of the highest salary in Bulgaria was revealed. This is the 1,500 leva salary of the chairman of the Council of Ministers. The leaders do not receive their salaries in foreign currency. However, when they travel abroad they can obtain foreign currency. I, for example, as first secretary of an oblast BCP Committee, can exchange $500, Comrade Mincho Yovchev clearly answered without beating about the bush. [passage omitted]

Citizens' Gatherings, Meetings Noted

AU0112105889

[Editorial Report] In addition to reports on apparently officially sanctioned meetings of labor collectives and party organizations, Bulgarian newspapers of 25-29 November report the following gatherings and demonstrations throughout the country:

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 26 November on page 2 carries a 200-word article by a "Dimitrovgrad Oblast correspondent" entitled "Glasnost, but Also Rapid Solutions," dealing with the ecological problems in Dimitrovgrad. The article says: "On 25 November some 400 people gathered in the center of the city at a meeting which had not been authorized by the city authorities. In a calm atmosphere demands again were raised to provide fuller information on the ecological situation in the city." Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 2000 GMT on 25 November carries a 1-minute factual, similar report on the Dimitrovgrad meeting, also noting that "it was attended by 400 citizens."

The same newspaper, on page 2, carries a 100-word unattributed report entitled "Meeting in Veliko Turnovo," according to which "on 25 November in 'Druzhba' Park in Veliko Turnovo, a meeting organized by the independent and informal associations and movement in the city took place," at which figures such as Nikolay Kolev, Stefan Komitov, Father Khristofor Subev, and Dr Konstantin Trenchev "briefed the participants on their associations' platforms." The number of participants is not reported.

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 27 November on pages 1 and 6 carries a 1,000-word report by Danka Vasileva and Georgi Georgiev entitled "The First Letters of the Alphabet," which says the following: "For several weeks already Sofia's Southern Park has been a real Hyde Park. The situation on Saturday was typical. Despite the rain, snow, and strong wind, from 1000 local time until dark hundreds of people stood in front of the platform—even without umbrellas. Meetings were held also in Dimitrovgrad, Veliko Turnovo, Kozloduy.... And only a short while ago we suffered from citizens' passivity.'

"Virtually every day independent associations and organizations are emerging throughout the country. It is difficult to say how many there are. What do they want? They all demand democratic changes."

Later the authors report that posters reading "death to the Communists" and "signed by the 'Podkrepa' Independent Trade Union" have been posted in Stara Zagora. Dr Konstantin Trenchev is quoted as saying the following: "Our trade union has nothing to do with the poster. This is a provocation that aims to discredit us."

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 29 November on page 3 carries a 120-word note by Rumyana Bratovanova and Danka Vasileva entitled:

"Correcting Aim Without Changing Target," which reports that the poster that read "death to the Communists," reported in OTECHESTVEN FRONT on 28 November, had actually been signed by a group called Solidarity [Solidarnost], noting that "such a group is unknown." The authors of the report repeat Dr Trenchev's denial of any connection between the "Podkrepa" Trade Union and the poster, and add that "the word 'death' was observed written in Aleksandur Nevski Square."

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 29 November on page 1 carries a 120-word report by Violeta Vasileva, a medical nurse in Pleven, entitled "Let Us Think About Proportion!" Vasileva reports "a meeting in support of restructuring in Pleven," and without reporting the number of participants or the date of the meeting, she laments the fact that "some of the participants expressed their personal attitude toward this or that leader who had made mistakes," rather that "expressing the attitude of Pleven citizens toward restructuring."

Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian on 28 November on page 3 carries three reports on informal meetings. The first is a 300-word report by Tsvetan Khristov from Gorna Kremena Village entitled "Public Demand To Rehabilitate Gorunya." Khristov reports "a 2-hour meeting which, despite the snow, was attended by thousands of people," and at which demands were voiced "to stop the 25-year silence about the drama that took place during the night of 6-7 April 1965," and to rehabilitate General Ivan Todorov-Gorunya, who was born in the village.

The second is a 80-word report by Tsvetan Ivanov entitled "Super-Departmental Control of Radiation Is Necessary," which deals with a "2-hour meeting which took place on Kozloduy, and which was organized by the 'Ecoglasnost' Independent Association, 'Podkrepa' Independent Trade Union, and the civilian group on self-defense at times of nuclear accidents in Kozloduy." The meeting dealt with issues of ecological protection.

The third is a 120-word report by B. Koleva entitled "A 'Citizens' Initiative' Movement Was Established." According to Koleva's report, "Lyubomir Sobadzhiev read the program declaration and a resolution to the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria," which the several hundred people who attended the meeting in Sofia's Southern Park approved."

Shorter, unattributed reports on the meetings in Gorna Kremena Village and Kozloduy are carried by Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 27 November, on page 4.

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian on 27 November on page 6 carries a 200-word report by Valentiv Tanev and Vladimir Denev entitled "Meeting at 'Sveta Gora,'" which deals with a 1-hour meeting of Veliko Turnovo University students, at which demands "to abolish the obligatory brigades and all privileges," were voiced.

Sofia BTA in English and Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian monitored from 25 to 28 November have not been observed to report on gatherings and demonstrations throughout the country, except for Sofia Domestic Service report mentioned at end of paragraph three.

Reactions to Sofia 17, 18 Nov Public Rallies

AU2611155589

[Editorial Report] Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No. 47 on 22 November carries on page 16 three commentaries totaling 2,100 words by different authors dealing with the 17 and 18 November Sofia public rallies, under the headline: "Hopes, Hopes."

An insert in the middle of the page carries a 200-word passage from the "Evaluation of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee on the New Political Situation" made at a meeting of the BCP Central Committee Politburo on 20 November, mentioning that "recent extremist trends emerging over the last 3 days are likely to make the restructuring process more difficult," but adding that "there should be no question of relapse into the past, of returning to the corrupted methods and means which were rejected by the BCP Central Committee November plenums."

The first 600-word contribution by Rumyana Karastoyanova is entitled: "Without Monopoly" and compares the two rallies, stating that although "the idea in the name of which the citizens were convened was identical" for both rallies, each of them was organized by a separate organizational committee and "the confrontation between the two sides, each of them representing its own concept of democracy, emerged as soon as they met in the open."

Dealing with the so-called "sanctioned" [kazionen] meeting on 17 November, Karastoyanova says:

"The wisdom of life, however, prevailed once more. Even at the rally we hastily called the sanctioned one, and at which many people, according to tradition, were convened by roll call, and—let us not forget—during their working time—the people's urge to express their will, their joy, and their anger broke through all attempts of controlling them and of glossing over the truth, to which they responded with ovations and catcalls." According to Karastoyanova, the "aspirations for monopoly over the truth" should be forgotten and the Bulgarian people should seek the path of democracy through unity, but not through the "unanimity of the past that became the silence of millions of submissive people."

Teodora Koleva's 700-words contribution is entitled: "Following the First Emotions." The author says that she attended both rallies and admits: "For the first time I went to a rally without being obliged to." She criticizes the artificially created "festive mood" at the 17 November rally, the joyful songs and dances coming through the loudspeakers, and says, that according to the

statements made a few hours before at the National Assembly about the country's difficult economic situation, there was no reason for rejoicing.

Koleva also points out the "lack of civilized behavior" of some groups, "calling themselves students and law graduates", which joined the rally and noisily interrupted the speakers with "slogans for a law-governed state." She further says: "People were not in a hurry to return home after the end of the rally. Individuals whoh were visibly drunk, or otherwise mentally disturbed, climbed on the tribune reserved for the television cameras and began to tear up Todor Zhivkov portraits. They were encouraged by the attention the crowd paid to them. Such behavior is not worthy of a civilized society." Koleva suggests that in the future such rallies should perhaps take place in sports stadiums, or other places, where they would not disrupt traffic.

Examining the 18 November rally, "organized by nine independent associations" Koleva mentions that "considerable interest was devoted to it, these associations being in disgrace until recently." She mentions that several people had come from the provinces to attend, and that the Aleksandur Nevski Square could hardly contain such a large crowd, as a result of which "the lawn of the surrounding parks was crushed and some branches of trees were broken." Koleva criticizes some of the speakers in whose case: "the accumulated dissatisfaction and, presumably their wish to win over the audience prevailed over sensible proposals and good manners." She describes how some of the speakers raised claims "that those responsible for the present state of affairs should be punished and incomes of people from the higher echelons of power should be published," and points out that "in that case the biographies and incomes of the independent groups' leaders" should also be accessible to the public, so as to convince people that "those individuals whose followers they may become one day are honest." Koleva also points out the fact Radio Free Europe was provided with the documents of the 18 November rally quicker than ANTENI.

In a 400-word contribution, entitled: "Joy", Nikolay Zhekov sums up the results of the two rallies, pointing out that many people, including the "chairman of the Bulgarian Parliament [Stanko Todorov] shed tears of emotion" at the 17 November rally in front of the National Assembly building.

Zhekov cites some of the slogans carried at the two rallies, such as those reading "Elections Now," "Independent Bulgaria," and "Freedom of Conscience, Freedom of Speech!" and describes how "boys and girls who were apolitical until recently" now raised the slogan "Who Led Us Into This Situation?!" The author points out that this is the most painful question, because "dictators are never alone and do not act alone," He praises the "wonderful people" attending the rallies, who "very well understood that democracy is within their hands and that it will require their great efforts, that not revenge, but justice is required, and that a sense of responsibility should prevail over the desire to punish."

Zhekov closes his contribution in citing another "statement made in front of the Aleksandur Nevski Cathedral," namely "God Bless Democracy," adding: "Is it not true that hatred destroys all blessings?"

Premier Atanasov Meets Sofia Plant Workers

AU2611180389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Nov 89 pp 1,2

[Report by Plamen Enchev, Lulivera Krusteva, Boyko Vutov, Rositsa Stancheva, and Katya Yaneva: "Looking Life Straight in the Eyes"]

[Excerpts] The meeting of Comrade Georgi Atanasov, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and chairman of the Council of Ministers, with Sofia Elpromenergo Plant workers took place in a businesslike manner.

It was impossible to follow or to reproduce all Comrade Georgi Atanasov's conversations. He stopped by the machines, talked with the workers, asked them how they felt about the new line of the party and state in implementing restructuring, and what concerns and excites them in those eventful days.

Worker Petur Nakov presented his problems: I would like to see the practice restored, according to which goods such as refrigerators and television sets were sold at the plant itself. Why should we stand in line and waste work time? He also asked whether there will be more available apartments.

Many of the workers' questions were related to labor conditions and then stimuli that could attract youth to work in the plant. They even took Comrade Georgi Atanasov to the foundry shop, where labor conditions are insufferable.

Worker Dimitrina Yankova said: Labor conditions are a very important factor in implementing the plan. Now that we have heating in the shop, we can work better. [passage omitted]

An interesting dialogue developed between the chairman of the Council of Ministers and Lozan Vasilev, one of the workers.

—Now we must hurry, Comrade Atanasov, he said. You came to us on the 11th day. You should have come much earlier to the workers' class. You could learn a lot from that class. We are not against the intelligentsia, but one should not underestimate the role of the workers' class.

—I think that we must not delay things, Comrade Atanasov answered. The intelligentsia and the workers' class must march hand in hand. We have one destiny, and Bulgaria is its name!

Many things were said at the Elpromenergo Plant. The workers talked about Korekom [Bulgarian foreign currency stores], the life of the primary party organizations, the many words and paucity of deeds, and about the two rallies in Sofia. Purely economic issues, such as the company-based organization, the new labor wage system, the future of the plant, and the Scientific-Research Institute also were mentioned.

At the end of the informal meetings in one of the plant's halls, Comrade Georgi Atanasov thanked the workers for their confidence in and support for the BCP Central Committee November Plenums and the National Assembly session. We frankly admitted that many problems have accumulated in the country. They must now be resolved in a new way and form the basis of the new society—for mankind and in the name of mankind—he said.

Danube Council Discusses Pollution Threat

AU2311212389 Sofia BTA in English 2007 GMT 23 Nov 89

["For Ecological Measures"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 23 (BTA)—At its session today the Municipal Council of the City of Silistra (north-east Bulgaria, by the Danube), discussed the program for environment preservation and reproduction by the year 2000 and decided to consult the people in the municipality in connection with the construction of cellulose plants at the Technological Forestry Combine Works and the Hydrotechnical Silistra-Kularash Complex.

The session did not adopt the program and voted for its remaking. Concern was expressed over the pollution of the air from the enterprises in the region and from transboundary sources. The discussion concerned also problems of the purity of the Danube water and the biosphere reserve of Sreburna.

The chairman of the National Committee for Environment Preservation Mr Nikolay Dyulgerov said before a BTA correspondent that the committee had received other signals as well which informed of air pollution by local and transboundary sources, and that the corresponding measures have been taken. He recalled that the national program for environment preservation and reproduction envisages fast measures in regions with deteriorated ecological situations, which is also concern to the Council of Ministers and the local governing bodies.

Experts Discuss Arms Industry Conversion

AU2811152589 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No. 47, 22 Nov 89 pp 8,9

[Report on Major General Kamen Petrov and Major General Stoyan Andreev by Tatyana Panova and Vladimir Avramov: "Conversion Is No Simple Matter"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Once again we find ourselves talking to Major General Kamen Petrov, chief of the group for confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament under the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, and Major General Stoyan Andreev, senior scientific fellow and candidate of technical sciences. Once again we ask them about things that we think the Bulgarian citizen wants to know, but about which citizens have grown accustomed not to ask questions about, because the military secrecy restrictions have not yet been relaxed. Despite this, it turns out that rather interesting things are happening in the field of true disarmament. [passage omitted]

[Question] Before dealing with the problems, should we not perhaps outline the new situation?

[Petrov] I will note only two things. First, conversion of military plants to civilian use is the result of the new political thinking. Since we recognize that the possible results from a conventional war, let alone a thermonuclear one, are unacceptable, we reject war as a means of achieving political ends. Accordingly, the entire system that designs, researches, produces, allocates, and masters weapon systems and combat equipment must be either substantially reduced or partially eliminated. The second reason for conversion is the very development of scientific and technical progress in the art of war. If, for example, I can now make antitank weapons capable of destroying a tank at a range of 1,000-1,250 meters with an 0.989 probability factor, then the person who is producing vast numbers of tanks will think again. Moreover, an antitank weapon costs no more than $2,000-2,500, whereas a modern tank now costs $5 million.

[Question] Gen Andreev, you said that all that which might be done with the relevant scientific and technical achievements, technologies, and so on for military needs should be transferred for civilian requirements. How can this come about?

[Andreev] I would like us to deal with this question in more detail, as it is not such a primitive one.

[Question] We formulate this question in a more complex manner than its elementary interpretation, because it is said, for example, that we are stopping the production of circuit boards for electronic missile guidance and immediately starting to manufacture supermodern cassette recorders.

[Andreev] This is a primitive explanation. Despite the many similarities in technologies—especially in the production by subcontractors—it is nonetheless one thing to make a modern type of cassette recorder and quite another to make a circuit board for a missile control unit. This type of primitivism assumes that we can shut down a given military plant or, more precisely, stop its production, and say, for example: Until now you have made missiles; tomorrow you will start producing video recorders. This is physically impossible. [passage omitted]

[Question] Gen Andreev, how do you respond to the premise that conversion is something that guarantees the development of scientific and technical progress, since the military is working for civilian needs?

[Andreev] I would like to illustrate this topic by an extremely telling example. In Bulgaria, on the basis of our well-developed electronics industry, we have developed a well-developed specialized engineering sector and an automated line for producing ammunition. However, it transpires that we possess an automated line for ammunition, yet no modern automated line exists in Bulgaria for making salami. The reason for this is not the fact that we have neglected this problem—although this is indeed true—but because it proves to be the case that these salami lines require so much intricate technology that they can only be produced by highly developed countries. They are made in countries such as the FRG, France, England, the United States, and Canada; five or six countries in the world produce automated lines for making salami. Even the Soviet Union does not make such lines. We are talking about modern lines, are we not? Meanwhile, a vast amount of meat is spoiled because it is not properly processed in a timely way. About 2 years ago, a competition was announced in Bulgaria for such lines, after the Germans had begun to offer them to various countries at high prices. Several machine-building associations in Bulgaria devoured the people's money on this, but the line was not produced, because even in the West such lines are produced by industrial enterprises that make similar lines for military requirements. The Kazanluk Scientific Research Institute for Technology entered this contest; we collected several million dollars, and even started using company funds. The first three lines are now already operating! Before the end of the year, three lines will be installed in Sofia, and next year 30 lines will produce salami for the whole of Bulgaria. Who made them? The self-same designers and technologists who attained such a high level of success in making the ammunition production line. This is an example of successful and highly effective conversion.

[Question] There is also another proposal—namely to close a plant, for example, and lock its scientific and technical discoveries away in a safe, while the workers sew clothes for "Ruen" [a clothing plant]; if needed, the plant will be put into commission again.

[Andreev] This alternative is not a joke; it is quite serious. However, let me take this idea to its logical conclusion: Plants like these should be given national economic tasks similar in nature to their previous production. You do not pull down a house in order to build a hovel. The problem that you mentioned so provocatively manner should not be underestimated. Say, for example, that we have a line that is automatic, but not automated, for the production of cartridges. What are you to do with such a line? Dismantle it or put it in mothballs? This is what they do in the United States. They, for example, do not construct a specialized defense industry; they have state plants for manufacturing small arms and ammunition which do not operate continuously; but, from time to time, they start them up experimentally, make innovations, and thus maintain a ready defense reserve. Any self-respecting state should do this, and we should do the same. We should not expect any sensations in this respect. Everything that is strictly military and that cannot be converted to civilian production through additions and modifications should be maintained in precisely the same way to serve the country's highest interests. It should not be shut down and destroyed but maintained as a ready industrial reserve for the country's defense. However, such types of production are extremely specific enterprises, and I should stress that they are very few in number. As for the remaining plants, in the machine-building, electrical engineering, and electronic sectors, these can in most cases change over to the production of very complex products with a high scientific content to meet the needs of the national economy.

Opinion Poll on National Assembly Session

AU2311153989 Sofia BTA in English 1439 GMT 23 Nov 89

["Public Opinion on National Assembly Session"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 23 (BTA)—Some 60 per cent of those interviewed approved of the latest National Assembly Session, citing the emancipated and free opinions, the candor and the spirit of criticism.

A public opinion poll on the Eleventh Session of the National Assembly, quoted in today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO, showed that the live broadcast of the session on television and radio were invariably seen as a "specific manifestation of the new style, of democracy and glasnost."

The election of Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], as president of the State Council, received approval, too. 48.5 per cent of the respondents said that the combination of the two offices was a necessary but temporary measure. Another 19.5 per cent believe that, in principle, that was the right decision which enables the party to exercise more adequately its leading role. At the same time, 21 per cent of those polled consider this decision as running counter to democratic principles.

Some of those interviewed believe that part of the National Assembly members did not perform as true representatives of the people. Many of them have adopted a convenient view to cover up their personal responsibility, saying that "we all have been mistaken and that I only voted in line with the rest", the respondents believe.

Petty bickering and groping for "excuses and easy repentance", the "overhasty denigration of the former leader" by people who have been sitting on the same ruling

bodies so far are seen by many members of the public as an attempt by those people to "hold out again" and "to flatter again".

The repeal of Penal Code Article 273 is assessed as a "first step towards turning Bulgaria into a state genuinely committed to the rule of law." A relatively small portion of those polled (6.7 per cent), however, have been impressed by the abolition of this Penal Code provision.

Public approval was expressed for the personnel changes in the National Assembly standing committees, but the approach and the rules of their debate have drawn some criticism. The respondents saw a fault in the nominees' failure to set forth the ways in which they intend to perform the functions assigned to them.

Conflicting views were expressed on specific personnel and structural changes. Some of those polled said the new appointments again come from among the previous leaders. Others see the changes as well-advised, "correctly reinstating in office experienced and competent functionaries."

According to some opinions, it is high time that the reorganizations should stop.

Some intellectuals, dissatisfied with the parliamentary debate, assert that "what we need is a new National Assembly" to become a permanently functioning parliament of the state.

BCP CC Plenum Record Summary Cited

AU3011192189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Nov 89 pp 3, 4

[Report on the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum at Georgi Kirkov Hall, in Sofia on 10, 16 November]

[Text] As is already known, the plenum of the Central Committee [CC] of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] reviewed important current and cadre issues and unanimously adopted decisions, which have been published in the press and on the radio and television. For the first time in many years, the plenum's work took place in a completely democratic atmosphere. There was a free exchange of opinions and, simultaneously, a high level of responsibility and political realism.

The cadre changes and the trends outlined by the BCP Central Committee 10 and 16 November plenums marked the beginning of the real revolutionary restructuring of our socialist society.

Because of the readers' great interest, today we publish a summary of the shorthand protocol, which contains the most important information about the critical remarks and self-critical assessments made at the plenum and points out the proposals and recommendations of the plenum's participants.

The plenum which, in addition to the BCP Central Committee members and candidate members, was also attended by the chairman of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission and the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union, was opened by Comrade Yordan Yotov. The agenda "Concerning Certain Current and Organizational Issues" was adopted, and the floor was given to Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

He said:

"The BCP Central Committee Politburo proposes that the plenum discuss certain changes in the composition of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

"Concerning the BCP Central Committee:

"1. To relieve Comrades Milko Balev, Grisha Filipov, and Dimitur Stoyanov from their posts as members of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretaries. Those comrades must retire. "In the cases of Comrades Milko Balev and Grisha Filipov—because they do not have the necessary qualities and because, by their behavior and actions, they have undermined the BCP's prestige and leadership. A strong and negative sentiment against them has asserted itself in our society.

"In the case of Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov because, as BCP Central Committee secretary of organizational issues and leader of the activity of the Central Committee Secretariat and the Council on Coordinating Activities in Relation to the Situation in the Country, he allowed gross mistakes, which contributed to the heightening of tension in the country.

"2. To relieve Comrade Petko Danchev from his posts as candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and member of the BCP Central Committee.

"Comrade Danchev does not have the necessary moral and businesslike qualities. After assuming his post in the Council of Ministers, he did not engage in resolving even one single serious issue.

"3. To relieve Comrade Stoyan Ovcharov of his post as candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo.

"There is a strong negative attitude among our society and among economists toward Comrade Ovcharov, because for more than 2 years, he was not able to master his duties.

"4. To relieve Comrades Vasil Tsanov and Emil Khristov from their posts as secretaries of the BCP Central Committee. Those comrades must retire.

"5. To expel Vladimir Zhivkov, Nikola Stefanov, and Khristo Maleev from the BCP Central Committee for reasons of expedience.

"6. To repeal the Central Committee decisions of July and December 1988 on expelling Comrades Stoyan Mikhaylov and Svetlin Rusev from the Central Committee and restore their Central Committee membership.

"7. To promote the following candidate members of the BCP Central Committee to full membership in the Central Committee: Vasil Nedev, general manager of the 'Metalokeramika' Company in Sofia; Georgi Pirinski, deputy minister of foreign economic relations; Gospodin Yordanov, brigade leader at the power line brigade in the 'Nuclear Power Generation' Combined Works in Kozloduy; Dichka Slavova, chairperson of the collective agrarian plant in Nikolaevka Village, Varna Oblast; and Rumen Serbezov, senior adviser at the Council of Ministers."

"8. To co-opt Comrade Nacho Papazov, presently chairman of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission, as a member of the BCP Central Committee.

"9. To elect Comrades Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, and Nacho Papazov, chairman of the BCP Central Control Auditing Commission, as members of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretaries.

"10. To elect Comrades Panteley Pachov, first secretary of the BCP Plovdiv Oblast Committee; and Mincho Yovchev, first secretary of the BCP Khaskovo Oblast Committee, members of the BCP Central Committee Politburo.

"11. To relieve Comrade Yordan Yotov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, from his post as Central Committee secretary.

"12. To elect Comrades Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, and Ivan Stanev, brigade leader of the builders brigade at the Kremikovtsi Construction Administration, as candidate members of the BCP Central Committee Politburo.

"13. To elect Comrade Prodan Stoyanov, head of the BCP Central Committee 'Administrative' Department, as secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

"Concerning certain changes in the State Council.

"To propose to the National Assembly the implementation of the following changes in the membership of the State Council and the National Assembly permanent commissions:

"1. To relieve Comrade Yaroslav Radev from the posts of deputy chairman of the State Council, chairman of the Legislative Council, and chairman of the National Assembly Legislation Commission.

"I would like to tell you, comrades, that we have no special claims concerning Comrade Radev. He held his posts for 18 years. I think that it is necessary to rejuvenate the State Council.

"2. To relieve Comrades Grisha Filipov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Milko Balev, and Andrey Bundzhulov from their posts as members of the State Council.

"3. To relieve Comrade Grisha Filipov from the post of chairman of the National Assembly Socioeconomic Development Commission; Comrade Milko Balev from the post of chairman of the National Assembly Foreign Policy Commission; Comrade Emil Khristov from the post of chairman of the National Assembly Social Policy Commission; and Comrade Vasil Tsanov from the post of deputy chairman of the National Assembly Environmental Protection Commission.

"4. To relieve Comrade Todor Zhivkov from the post of chairman of the Commission on Preparing the Draft for Amending the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

"5. To elect Comrades Andrey Lukanov and Nacho Papazov as members of the State Council.

"Those are the proposals.

"You certainly notice that we do not propose new chairmen of the commissions, a deputy chairman of the State Council, and so forth. We will do this at the next BCP Central Committee plenum and National Assembly session, which will review the plan and budget and approve the election of the new chairmen and the additional changes we will have to implement in the State Council.

"I would like to say, dear comrades, that yesterday night a letter from Comrade Milko Balev was given to me in connection with the proposals that were made here. I would like to acquaint you with its contents:

"'To Comrade Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee,

"'Esteemed Comrade Mladenov,

"'Through you, I am addressing the Politburo with the request to propose at the forthcoming Central Committee plenum that I be relieved from the posts of Politburo member and Central Committee secretary.

"'After the Politburo meeting and the November plenum, I made a serious self-critical analysis of my activity and personal responsibility for the present state of the party and country. I hope that you do not doubt that I worked honestly for the cause of the party.

"'Please believe me, I accept the decisions of the November plenum with profound awareness, and I shall do everything within my power to facilitate the implementation of the new party course. This is my profound communist conviction.

"'Respectfully—Milko Balev.

"'14 November 1989.'

"Since this is a resignation request, the Politburo discussed it and decided that it must be reported at the plenum. Simultaneously, the Politburo adheres to its formulation, which I just reported."

Afterward, Comrade Petur Mladenov read the biographies of the comrades proposed for Central Committee and Politburo membership. They have been published in the newspapers.

Afterward, on behalf of the Politburo, Comrade Pencho Kubadinski proposed that the candidacy of Comrade Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, for the post of chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria be proposed at the 17 November session of the National Assembly. He stressed that the combination of the two posts is extremely necessary at present. This will allow one to best combine the actions of the BCP Central Committee and the State Council under conditions of restructuring and preparing for the 14th BCP Congress.

Comrade Georgi Atanasov took the floor to propose the following structural and personnel changes in the Council of Ministers, which are to be proposed to the National Assembly for discussion and adoption.

The creation of a Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Industry and Technologies, Ministry of Domestic Trade, Ministry of Construction, Architecture, and Urbanization, and a State Committee on Environmental Protection with the rank of a ministry.

Under those circumstances, the abolition of the associations. The establishment of a Committee on Power Supply in the Council of Ministers, to be in charge of the electric power supply system, and a Committee on Communications and Data Processing in the Council of Ministers.

The closure of the National Council on Education, Science, and Culture, because it is unnecessary to have another level of management above the state and public organs in the sphere of culture, science, and higher education.

The personnel changes that were proposed were adopted without any amendments. Subsequently, they were adopted by the National Assembly and published in the mass media.

Afterward, the statements of the participants began. Nikolay Zhishev took the floor first.

He stated that the Communists and working people in Burgas Oblast greeted with total approval the works and decisions of the BCP Central Committee November Plenum, the election of Comrade Petur Mladenov as general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and his concluding speech.

Comrade Zhishev said that the following conclusion could be drawn: There has been no other major political event in recent years that so has moved the Communists and all strata of the population in such a profound and spontaneous manner.

Life convincingly shows that what is needed now is a comprehensive analysis and a sober assessment of the situation, correct conclusions about the future activity, and active and practical deeds to restructure the activity of the party, state, economic, and public organs and organizations.

Later, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee members and candidate members who live and work in Burgas Oblast, he expressed complete agreement with the proposals of Comrades Mladenov, Kubadinski, and Atanasov, and stressed that it will give a new impetus to restructuring in our country. He said that many facts and data about the necessity of profound changes in the economic and social spheres and party life could be cited. Obviously, those issues will be discussed in detail at the next BCP Central Committee plenum, Comrade Zhishev said.

Under conditions in which the administrative-command style and methods of instructions are eliminated, the party's leading role must be implemented in a manner which Lenin defined as the soft guidance of an orchestra conductor, the speaker said. The political, businesslike, and moral qualities of the leaders and Communists acquire first-rate importance. It is no secret that the role of the Central Committee has been undermined. Our task was merely to approve reports, considerations, and memorandums. The Central Committee is not only an organ for clerical-type activity but, above all else , a leading political center.

There are two roads ahead of us. The first is the road we have been following in recent years, namely, to pretend that we are restructuring by carrying out frequent and often unfounded reorganizations. The other is the road of real restructuring, renewal, democracy, and glasnost. The Communists and working people powerfully demand that we steadily and firmly march along the second road. We must travel this road in a honest manner, Comrade Zhishev said in conclusion.

Comrade Khristo Khristov took the floor next. He supported the proposals for cadre changes and pointed out that the decisions of the BCP Central Committee 10 November plenum and Comrade Petur Mladenov's concluding speech have been greeted by the party and people as the long-expected statement of the BCP Central Committee. They have met with general approval, support, and readiness for a new upsurge and for a real renewal of our motherland in a revolutionary manner.

The issue in question does not merely refer to personnel changes in the BCP Politburo and Central Committee, he said, but to a new political course in implementing the party's goal—constructing socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The party and state now need

cadres who will actually begin to restructure rather than talk about it, people with authority, professional knowledge, and experience.

He pointed out that this course cannot be successfully implemented while Comrades Milko Balev and Grisha Filipov, who have long lost their authority and trust among the people, continue to be members of the Politburo.

Comrade Milko Balev, despite certain efforts to distance himself from Georgi Vutev, is personally responsible for the latter's promotion. Comrade Milko Balev constantly patronized Georgi Vutev. The lack of consistency and the arbitrariness in the decisions in the economic sphere manifested by Grisha Filipov are well-known. Under his leadership, the government did not work as a uniform organ.

The cadre appointments to the Council of Ministers after 1987 proved unsuccessful, the speaker said. Intrigues and struggle for political supremacy emerged. Attempts were made to acquire authority and social status through bombastic phrases and promises. The last 2 years were a difficult period in the work of the Council of Ministers. Comrade Atanasov made great efforts to achieve results, but he found this very difficult, especially when his deputies, after visits to the BCP Central Committee building, reported to him on decisions which had already been adopted. It was obvious that things were directed against our government leaders' authority.

Concluding his statement, Comrade Khristov pointed out that many problems have accumulated in our country's economy and its foreign economic relations. It is still too early to analyze those problems in detail, he stressed; however, the changes that are taking place in the party and the new course we are adopting make it possibile not only to lead the country out of its difficulties, but also to mobilize the people's potential and the country's economy to achieve a new level of intellectual and social progress.

I listened to the proposals and cannot believe that such great changes could have taken place in such a short period, said Comrade Slavcho Trunski, who next took the floor. I can only think about how deformed the bureaucratic course was that has reigned until now. I also think about the fact that certain persons who remained in the Politburo for 15, 20, or even more years could not find the moral strength to leave the Politburo in a dignified manner, rather than the manner in which they are leaving now.

He supported all proposals that were made and noted that there are not enough people with an economic education in the Politburo. He recommended that economic specialists be proposed to help with future changes.

Comrade Trunski later pointed out that the people greet with satisfaction the fact that Todor Zhivkov has been relieved of his posts and the election of Comrade Petur Mladenov and stated that the change was imperative, because socialism in our country is in a crisis.

Afterward, he pointed out that, with the beginning of restructuring in our country, the talk was about a new model of socialism. In this context, he noted that when we struggled for freedom and independence we had no idea and did not know that socialism has different models, and that we could select the one we want. He suggested that one be more modest in selecting names such as accelerated development, mature, and real socialism, or even announcing, as we did, that we have constructed two Bulgarias. He concluded that we must quickly eliminate arbitrariness and opportunism.

Subsequently, Comrade Trunski stated that the so-called April course harmed socialism, adding that we must analyze the positive and negative factors of this period. According to him, the frequent and insufficiently thought-out reorganizations are something that ruined our national economy, and he recalled the numerous cases of merging, eliminating, dividing, and renaming the ministries and committees and creating complexes, councils, and associations. He also pointed out the creation of four councils in the Council of Ministers and their elimination after 19 months. Many of those changes formed a psychosis in the people, and, no matter how strange it is in our socialist system, they created insecurity about the future and even apathy. It is not in vain that we are already talking about the people's lack of confidence in the government.

Since all changes in the administration are approved by the National Assembly, we indeed compromise the National Assembly and, most of all, ourselves. Since 1984, we changed the name and place of the power supply four times. The same applies to the Ministry of Construction. We carried out unsuccessful changes in agriculture. Now we are without a Ministry of Finance. Thank God we are restoring it, because we were the only state without such a ministry. However, until now we have not assessed those hasty and imprudent reorganizations; have not condemned them. Slavcho Trunski cited as an example the recently created Ministries of Education, Culture, and Science, and stressed that, in addition to everything else, this approach deprives the National Assembly—our legislative organ—of its functions. Under conditions imposed by this style of work, the National Assembly had to blindly accept everything, while the people's representatives are relieved of the obligations entrusted to them by their voters.

Can we call such an approach restructuring? Comrade Trunski asked. Very little has changed in a positive direction.

Subsequently, stressing that now we have directed our attention toward the companies, he pointed out that by doing this we are narrowing the parameters of the socialist forms, idolizing the companies, and actually turning them into new monopolies. Creating companies by pressure from the top is hardly a correct thing.

During our frequent reorganizations, when we had to prove their necessity, I noted a fierce attempt to invoke Lenin, quote him, and rely on his authority and intellect; however, when he disagreed with us we ran away from him like the devil runs from holy water.

It appeared indeed, Comrade Trunski said, that reorganizations became a goal in themselves, and in fact there is no restructuring.

After this, he spoke about the National Assembly and pointed out that it is necessary to activate the work of the legislative organ and enhance its authority. In this context, he cited the USSR Parliament as an example. Recently, the National Assembly commissions activated their work; however, this did not apply to the National Assembly as an institution. Instead of legislating laws, it often approves State Council decrees, thus depriving the people's representatives of the opportunity to debate. The citizens joke that the people's representatives convene only in order to raise their hands. This is supported by the fact that there are no discussions at the National Assembly and that most things are blindly approved. The practice by which executive organs such as the Council of Ministers and the ministries regularly report to the legislative organ has not asserted itself.

It is high time that the National Assembly fully assume its role. In this context, if we want to become a law-governed state, it is appropriate to create a Constitutional Court.

Later on, Comrade Trunski said: I think that our economy expanded on an over-large scale. I am not convinced that a small country such as Bulgaria must and can develop many branches and be a strong and leading country in all of them. Is it not more appropriate to have one or two leading directions which we will develop and with which we could assert ourselves on the international market?

Now, concerning the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS]. The BZNS must be our ally and opponent. It must not only praise us, as used to be the case, at least until now.

The speaker made the following proposals:

1. To think about the congress again, in a calm and sober manner—shall we conduct it in 1990 or postpone it to 1991, against the background of the impoverished market, the discouraging report of the Central Statistics Administration for the first 9 months of this year, the economic situation, and the especially poor labor discipline.

2. To stop persecuting people who are not enemies of the state, but hold different opinions from ours. Different opinions and pluralism are needed now that we are undertaking a responsible mission.

3. To think about the issue of whether the Politburo members, except the general secretary and the head of state, if there is such a person, need personal guards. We evidently have to reduce the militia, which guards objects instead of having the civilian guards doing this. Uniformed militia must be directed toward maintaining internal order and supervising the highways, thus helping to reduce the number of accidents.

4. To limit to a minimum the prestigious projects, which the people justifiably call hullabaloo. We throw away money in every direction and for every wrong reason, while our children, to our country's shame, are studying in two or even three school shifts. To think about the rational utilization of the numerous residences that exist in our country.

5. To review the issue of the Muslims in our country. To adopt measures to bring those people closer to the government.

6. To discuss, first in the Central Committee and then in the National Assembly, issues such as requesting credits and loans from capitalist countries, reducing the Armed Forces and other state security issues, the economic situation, and the unity of the nation.

7. To defuse [obezsili] the machinery and equipment along the border without dismantling it, and use it as fencing for pastures.

He concluded his statement with the following words:

I am full of hope and conviction that something is taking place that is very beautiful and long-awaited by the party and people and the thousands of fighters who sacrificed their life for Bulgaria's freedom. People of different generations have gathered today at this very important forum. We are required to demonstrate maturity and vigor. I call upon all of you to roll up your sleeves and implement the historic tasks. Renewed and united, let us be up to the requirements of our historic mission.

Afterward, Comrade Nacho Papazov took the floor.

The past few days confirmed that we were right to relieve Comrade Todor Zhivkov of the post of general secretary, he said. The election of the new general secretary has been unanimously accepted by the party and all strata of the population, while his concluding speech has been greeted as a convincing program for urgent actions.

It is with this thought that we are gathering here without delay in order to complete the first stage of the November plenum decisions.

An objective assessment of the period up to the November plenum shows that the situation in the country is extremely tense and alarming. As you know, our country's comprehensive situation will be reviewed at a special plenum.

However, since certain cadre issues are being posed here, I would like to express my considerations. It is hardly a secret that in our leadership there was a rude violation of the collective style and method of leadership, an unscrupulous approach to cadre policy, and a lack of stability in

the structures mentioned in the statement of Comrade Slavcho Trunski. I also would say that a syndrome of permanent reorganization was created in Bulgaria, something that made us ridiculous not only in Bulgaria, but also abroad. The leadership's authority, especially that of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, was undermined. During the last 10-15 years in particular, Comrade Todor Zhivkov used to assert himself [se samoistukvashe] through permanent and over-long memorandums, reports, considerations, and speeches that were full of pseudoscientific phrases but were lacking in content.

It is also well-known that things are boiling over in the primary party organizations. In fact, now we are relying on the party leaderships and apparatus. We must quickly go to the primary party organizations and tell them the truth as it is, and only the truth.

Now, Comrade Papazov continued, we are suffering the results of a policy that put Bulgaria into unprecedented isolation. We must say that in this respect Comrade Petur Mladenov had different positions and struggled against the general secretary. The general secretary's monopoly on all issues reached absurd proportions. His apparatus was above the Politburo.

I support the proposal to relieve the comrades that were mentioned here from the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat, Comrade Papazov said, and I would like to cite several specific examples.

It is well-known, for example, that Comrade Milko Balev actually worked only in the apparatus, and, more specifically, in the office of the general secretary. This caused him to be detached from the real problems of life and distorted his role as a political figure. He is very guilty of promoting Comrade Zhivkov's personality cult. These things emerged in particular when he became a member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary. He is one of the authors of the idea of constantly publishing and republishing the volumes of the general secretary and the books related to Lyudmila Zhivkova. He was the driving force behind all this. With his actions and his constantly vulgar behavior, Comrade Balev used to cause bewilderment not only among the intelligentsia, but also among the simple people, with whom he used to meet, and simultaneously he sowed fear among them. Comrade Balev had great pretentions to being an international figure; however, after every meeting and talk with foreigners there were negative reactions related to his all-knowing behavior, incompetence, and lack of tact, which were the result of his arrogance and sense of infallibility, behind which there was the shadow of the general secretary. This patronage allowed him to rudely violate the moral requirements of the Communists and citizens. Let us take for example the case of Georgi Vutov, mentioned by Comrade Khristov. It is no secret that Vutov was Balev's henchman and clown. Comrade Balev knew about Vutev's actions, but saw no problem in demonstrating his friendship with him. The most unpleasant aspect of the whole thing, which we in the BCP Central Committee cannot ignore, is the fact that Comrade Balev allowed himself to unscrupulously and selflessly use Vutov as deputy minister of foreign trade. I have letters and reports on this matter addressed to the Central Control-Auditing Commission, which were immediately presented to the general secretary, who, however, took no action related to discussing or reviewing them.

Simultaneously, there was no statement by Comrade Milko Balev, regardless of the occasion or the issued involved, in which he did not invoke Comrade Zhivkov and glorified his personality. This was not beneficial for the party or the general secretary himself.

I think that the case of Comrade Grisha Filipov also requires attention. For almost 25 years he has held responsible party and state posts. Unfortunately, because of the firm patronage on the part of the general secretary, he caused much damage throughout the entire development of our economy. Comrade Filipov is one of the initiators of the economic reforms that already started at the beginning of the 1960's. However, to date he has not developed a clear concept that could serve as the foundation of a systematic and planned development and leadership of our economy. I think that his misfortune lies in his inconsistency and tendency to constantly change his opinions and decisions. It would be no exaggeration to say that he became the shadow of the general secretary and strived to indulge his every idea and propose changes to decisions and decrees that had already been adopted by the highest party organs, and even changes to laws.

We lost a lot because of this style of work, Comrade Papazov said. We lost the confidence of the people and especially the confidence of the economic cadres and specialists. Let me merely recall the confusion that emerged as a result of handing property to the labor collectives and the related declarations adopted by the National Assembly.

Warnings about all this were also received by the Central Control-Auditing Commission. Conversations on this matter have been conducted with Comrade Todor Zhivkov. I must say that in all cases he used to reject the accusations and protected Comrade Filipov.

The changes that are proposed now were prompted by the stagnation and incorrect cadre policy which was dictated for decades by the previous general secretary. Life repeatedly confirmed the mistakes that have been allowed in this policy. The frequent changes in the cadres, and especially among those in the higher echelons, were hardly accidental. The reasons are clear. The principle of promoting cadres on the basis of family relations, origin from the same geographic location, and personal loyalty prevailed. People with big ideas and "bold projects" were promoted. Afterward, when they proved futile, nobody demanded any responsibility from them. This produced economic losses, caused a deterioration in the party's authority, and made the state sink into debt.

Hence, I think there is no reason to hesitate about the other proposals or about those related to Comrades Danchev and Ovcharov.

As far as Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov is concerned, I highly value his devotion, modesty, and selflessness. However, at the same time we cannot ignore his use of coercion and his administrative approach in resolving political issues of fateful importance for the country. Facts related to violations of the law on detaining, investigating, and sentencing citizens who later proved to be innocent give rise to concern. Letters related to such cases have been received by the Central Committee and the Central Control-Auditing Commissions, but no action was taken on them. In this context, I think that it is necessary to review in particular the work of the investigation organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

In conclusion, Comrade Papazov said: We are facing great and noble work, which I am sure will produce great results under conditions of collective work, comradeship, and respect for the principle of justice and mutual confidence.

Comrade Niko Yakhiel took the floor.

After stressing the fateful importance of the period for the party and the people, and his sincere happiness that a turning point has been reached, he said: After long and, let me admit, unhappy self-critical reflections about the decades I spent mainly in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's office, I decided that I must speak not only in order to express my warm support for a course which I consider to be the only honest course that can bring salvation, but also in order to impart thoughts about things that could restrict or jeopardize this course.

The first steps after 10 November are decisive and encouraging. They already provided the party with the first credits of confidence. However, public opinion is extremely exacerbated and sensitive, more exacerbated and sensitive than I have seen since the period we have defined as the years of the personality cult.

Therefore, I think that it is exceptionally important that we do not allow any meandering and hesitation in our future practical deeds. In the present situation, the people will react sharply at the first sign of inconsistency, and we will again lose their confidence. In order to avoid meandering and hesitations it is necessary first of all for the new course to be led by people who are sincerely convinced of its correctness and urgency.

Therefore, I fully approve the proposals for cadre changes in the party and state leadership.

Comrade Yakhiel stressed that in the new situation things will emerge that will surprise and even shock us by virtue of their unusually obvious nature. Extremists will emerge, anti- and pseudo-restructurers, demagogues, homegrown reformers, or simply people who will take advantage of the muddy waters to fill up their pockets. Such manifestations will create problems for us, and they will not be easy. However, all this is inevitable in the course of such a powerful democratic process, and we must not allow it to weaken us, confuse us, or prompt us to take imprudent action. We must make special efforts to guard the new course against the leprosy of political demagogy. It was precisely the discrepancy between words and deeds, characteristic of the style of the previous general secretary of the Central Committee, that already deprived us of the people's confidence. Later on, Comrade Yakhiel said that public opinion in our country is uniform as seldom before about the difficult economic situation. Overcoming the constantly growing market deficit is now the crucial issue. He suggested that the measures related to the change be adopted not by a narrow circle of people, who as a rule remain anonymous, but be worked out by parallel and competing large teams of scientists and specialists, that will propose alternative views of resolving the crisis and of the country's economic future. Rude interference in the work of the Council of Ministers must no longer be allowed.

It is obvious, Comrade Yakhiel continued, that the Bulgarian citizens' lives will not be simple or easy in future months and years. This requires that they be addressed in a simple and honest manner. We must finally begin to study public opinion as a prerequisite for a more sensible and efficient political and state leadership.

In this context, it is necessary to establish new mutual relations between the party and mass media. Let us stop constantly tutoring and instructing professionally and politically qualified people about how to do their work. Until now the world has known no more comprehensive and efficient means of conducting a dialogue between the people and the leaders than the mass media. The mass media are not only a rostrum but a national assembly of sorts which is constantly in session, discusses real life, reflects, and simultaneously forms public opinion. Therefore, let us treat them as a respected partner.

After a 15-minute break, Comrade Georgi Tanev took the floor. He said that the November plenum inspires a clear and strong hope of revolutionary restructuring and constructing a new social and moral atmosphere in our country.

The organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in which three generations serve shoulder to shoulder, are loyal without any reservations to the party's self-sacrifices and victories, and thus they have their part in the party's bitter experience and in the mistakes that have been allowed. From such self-critical positions today they support with total conviction the program for dynamically renewing the party and socialism in Bulgaria.

I consider it correct, Comrade Tanev said, to more fully express at the special plenum of the BCP Central Committee our considerations about the revolutionary

renewal of our socialist society and the necessary changes in the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

One of the most important tasks of the security organs is to provide timely, correct, and genuine information to the party and state leaderships. One cannot say that this is always a pleasant task.

Unfortunately, during the few months since I was appointed minister of internal affairs, I often encountered cases in which our information was accepted with unpleasant grimaces and hints that only those who report positive and desired news or those who know how to turn a failure into a success are valued now. The necessary political assessment and attitude have been replaced by noncommittal silence and vague formulations, or by instructing the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to primarily conduct punitive and restrictive measures. The lack of a clear political attitude and assessment of the events, collectively adopted by the Central Committee or the Politburo, gradually led to inconsistency and unpredictability in the instructions given to the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

I cannot say how things used to be in the past, but the main factor that confused our staff in the last year was the unjustified employment of certain services of the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs as a political instrument in the struggle against certain social groups.

The truth is that the organs of the ministry are an organized force which is called upon to defend the safety of the socialist social system, the legal order, and the citizens' legal rights and freedoms, as vested in the Constitution. However, those organs cannot replace the main and decisive factor—the ideological-political influence and effect of party work. In the final analysis, emotional decisions that were adopted by individual members of the Politburo replaced the search for political solutions and the conducting of a benevolent dialogue. This led to negative public manifestations against the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and against the party and state leadership.

The organs of the ministry must have prerogatives, means, and methods of work that have been adopted in a legal manner and are known by the population. Thus, control over the activity of the organs will be more efficient. It will begin from the National Assembly and society, and will also employ control mechanisms in the system itself.

We hope that the guaranteed legal and humane character of our activity will stop the outflow of young cadres from the ministry.

The ministry's organs, Comrade Tanev said, have often, albeit cautiously, been criticized for their excessively closed character and unresponsiveness toward the interest of society as regards the topical and social information they posses. We adhere to glasnost because we value the great organizing force of this information in anything related to attracting the broad public to the struggle against negative phenomena and crime. We sense the necessity of a direct social assessment of our achievements and weaknesses. Naturally, we will need time to overcome the old stereotypes and habits that have asserted themselves throughout the years.

A new law on the People's Militia is being prepared. It develops the idea of constructing municipal militia. The greater part of the militia will be made subordinate to the municipal people's councils, rather than to the chairmen of their executive committees, something which will expand the real possibilities of the people's councils and local self-management.

In accordance with the process of democratization, the application of the Vienna agreements, and the experience of the Soviet comrades, we are beginning to fundamentally restructure certain state security structures, mainly the one responsible for the application of Article 273 and aimed at the struggle against ideological subversion.

According to the instruction of the Politburo, (naturally, a decision on this matter must also be adopted), this structure will be disbanded and transformed. Its activity will be directed toward defending the constitutional order and the Bulgarian citizens' rights and freedoms. We are not interested in delaying the investigations or preventing legal defense at all stages of the investigation.

In conclusion, Comrade Tanev assured the Central Committee that the ministry's workers, employees, and leading cadres will struggle for the new course of restructuring with deep conviction and with strict observance of the laws.

Comrade Georgi Dzhagarov asked a few questions.

Violence was used in our country against individual citizens or groups of citizens. Weapons have been used. People have been killed. Who gave the instructions related to this interference, he asked.

The second question was whether there exists in Bulgaria a system for monitoring the actions and tapping the conversations of responsible figures in the country who are attending this plenum, including intellectually creative people.

Replying to the first question, Comrade Georgi Tanev said that in principle there are no instructions to open fire. If there have been violations in applying protective measures, then this was the initiative of the militia members themselves. The Ministry of Internal Affairs has issued no instruction to open fire.

As far as eavesdropping is concerned, Comrade Tanev said that he had tried to check on what the situation in this area has been in recent years. He found out that there is no responsible comrade, member or candidate member of the BCP Central Committee, or leader of a department who had been the subject of eavesdropping.

I fully share Comrade Dzhagarov's concern, Comrade Tanev said. Occasionally, when I talk to responsible figures, they tell me not to talk about certain things, because the conversation could be tapped. Everybody thinks that when the telephones do not function they are being manipulated.

Comrade Zhivko Zhivkov said that, despite the distortions, mistakes, and failures that have inflicted our party in recent years, the faith in the party, and especially the faith in its restoring power and readiness to conduct real restructuring and renewal, has not been lost.

The failures in the field of the economy are intolerable, Comrade Zhivkov said. For about 10-15 years we have not taken one single step forward. Not only have we been marking time, but in certain cases we have even gone backwards.

We have been shown statistical reports which at the first glance indicate a satisfactory pace of growth—about a 5-6 percent increase in the social productivity of labor. What does this increase contain? It contains the "Labor Wages" Fund and the profit. The "Labor Wages" Fund is inflated by bonuses and by other means. Profit is inflated by the price increase. And when we leaf through the pages of the statistical report and check the situation concerning commodities, we note that year after year many of them are below the level of the previous year. This is also the situation with the present 9-month plan implementation report. This is the situation created by the subjective approach toward economic leadership, whose main agents are Todor Zhivkov and Grisha Filipov.

We know very well that the plans were composed in a competent manner. However, when they were introduced at the Politburo, Todor Zhivkov arbitrarily, prompted by none other than Grisha Filipov, used to insert different figures, invented on the spot by him, into the plan, and obliged the objective economic laws to obey him. Well, they refused to obey him. A lot is yet to be said on this issue.

Comrade Zhivko Zhivkov concluded his statement by stressing that, despite the fact that our party and society were strictly controlled, different opinions have been voiced in the Politburo, the Central Committee, and the government. Alternative proposals have been made and opposite positions have been expressed. However, no attention was paid to other opinions. In all essential matters, the general secretary used to react precisely as Stalin used to react.

It is true that there were obedient people here, as well as people who assumed a wait-and-see position. However, it would be wrong to say that there was no opposition and no different opinions.

Comrade Kiril Zarev took the floor to express total approval for the new course adopted by our party leadership and the cadre proposals, without any exception.

Noting the catastrophic situation of our economy, he stressed that for more than 20 years we have been developing the new economic mechanism. The development was led, as a rule, by Grisha Filipov. Throughout those 25 years we used to start afresh every year, and the changes in the mechanism used to begin even before the end of the year. Simultaneously, the Politburo used to receive reports that the mechanism had been developed to the highest level, and that it would solve all problems. However, 3-4 months afterward fundamental administrative changes would already be introduced into the mechanism.

A typical characteristic of the activity of Comrade Grisha Filipov and Comrade Todor Zhivkov is to say one thing and develop certain programs, but to act in a completely different manner and by other means.

I must say, Comrade Zarev stressed, that Grisha Filipov is mostly responsible for the fact that our country has no young, properly trained economists.

Our economy lost its prospects because of the permanent changes to the mechanism. The pace of development radically slowed down and disproportions emerged and constantly accumulated.

Since I nevertheless understand the economy, the speaker said, now we must concentrate our attention and the attention of the economic cadres on improving the situation in the domestic market. We need a small but obligatory improvement in the domestic market. Otherwise, people will again begin to lose faith.

In the second place, maximum efforts must be invested in balancing the budget, because an economy that is not based on a balanced budget will not remain stable.

I am not familiar with the country's foreign currency balance. On the basis of information published in the West, our debts are significant. All this developed in the last 5-6 years. The deficit is huge. Our debts are huge. This will trouble our party and state leadership for at least 10 years, because huge sums must be paid as interest. Regardless of how difficult this is, we must make efforts to limit the growth of our debts, and subsequently eliminate them. Generally, let us begin the reverse process of eliminating our debts.

Now it is extremely important to stop the present manner of planning. We can no longer sit at the top and make plans. The situation in which an enterprise does not know what will happen to it next year cannot continue any longer. During the time that remains until the end of the year the enterprises, companies, and planning organs must compose the plans together. If we do not compose them together we shall fail in any other plan we produce. In the best case, such a plan will be unsafe, unfounded, and impossible to implement. We have such experiences every year. In this area, too, we must begin with the people. The plans must be developed from the bottom. The plans of the economic organizations must be coordinated with the higher

organs, rather than those organs imposing fantastic numbers, as has been the case until now.

Comrade Vladimir Kalaydzhiev said:

Comrade Zarev, you are becoming minister of economy and planning and you do not know what Bulgaria's foreign debt is.

Are you prepared, tomorrow at the National Assembly, before you are elected minister by the people's representatives, to present your understanding and concept of what is to be done and how you intend to lead the ministry?

In his answer Comrade Kiril Zarev stressed that he had repeatedly presented his positions, and had therefore suffered certain consequences. He could answer the question only after seeing the balance, because he really does not know anything about the state of the balance of payments.

In his statement Comrade Angel Balevski said that what is happening now in Bulgaria will strengthen the people's confidence. However, we must have no illusions that we enjoy great confidence. We lost the confidence of the people.

It would be no exaggeration to say that today we are not only in the middle of economic decay, but also in the middle of physical, health-related, and in many respects intellectual decay. Our nation is disunited. Our economy is in a very difficult situation. Why is all this so? Because incompetence and dilettantism reign in our country. We failed to create a stratum of intelligentsia, without which no system or state can exist. We really are in a very difficult situation. Bulgaria is not poor, but its finances have been wasted in a terribly imprudent manner.

Later on, Comrade Balevski stressed that we have no law about major construction projects, that we have rapidly inflicted wounds on our environment, and that billions of leva, as well as other means, manpower, and materials have been allocated to construction projects, against which the Academy of Sciences has begun a campaign, demanding a halt to the construction work.

In conclusion, Comrade Balevski said: I was chairman of the Academy of Sciences for 20 years, and before that I was the rector of a powerful higher education technical school. No one has ever called me and said to me: "Well, you have such institutions at your disposal, and you have contacts with the socialist academies and all academies throughout the world." I also have personal contacts and our scientists have their own contacts. And yet we speak about science. We have powerful institutions, but they are not being utilized.

Subsequently, Comrade Georgi Milushev took the floor. He said that he had taken the floor because, under certain circumstances that had emerged on the basis of a party decision, he was the acting head of the Administration for Security and Protection for a period of 3 years and 1 month. This was a specific activity, which involved leading an administrtaion with precisely defined functions. This was a period of great suspicion and lack of confidence. The administration used to believe one single person only, who was personally involved in resolving many cadre issues.

I think, Comrade Milushev said, that the Administration for Security and Protection must be guided by the decisions of the Politburo and the general secretary; however, it is a unit of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The one-man-command of such an important and specialized unit must be eliminated.

A question was asked from the hall about the identity of the person Comrade Milushev mentioned in his statement. Comrade Milushev said that the person in question was Ani Mladenova. She is registered at the Administration for Security and Protection as an officer, a major, serving as chief inspector, and merited as a medical nurse with numerous privileges.

Comrade Milushev further said: We have repeatedly made proposals, taking into consideration the specific character of the administration's activity and the spirit of restructuring, democratization, and glasnost. This is an administration which has a direct relation to our higher political and state leadership, and each of our actions or a lack of action has immediate consequences, because the Administration for Security and Protection is a living organism with clearly expressed political positions.

Vasil Mruchkov was the first to take the floor at the second session, which began at 1500. He supported the Politburo's proposals on cadre changes and defined them as not merely personnel changes of the kind we have frequently experienced in the past, but as an important and real step toward changing the actions and policy of renewing society.

I am deeply moved, Comrade Mruchkov said, by the party, civic, and professional aspects of the issues of our legislation and legality under conditions of restructuring. Soon after the July plenum, on behalf of the Central Committee the idea was launched that the declarations adopted by the National Assembly—on the self-management of the municipalities and on placing socialist property under the management and administration of the workers' collectives—replace the Constitution and various "laws and mini-laws," and that the declarations themselves will act as a "mini-Constitution." Those instructions were voiced in the National Assembly Hall at the Eighth Session of the National Assembly on 28 July 1988. They were picked up and repeated at numerous meetings of party and state aktivs, in which many people participated, by members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee. Those instructions inflicted a heavy blow on legality in our country, confused the cadres, and created difficulties in the work of the legal defense organs, because they came "from the highest place," as we used to say. This was rude legal nihilism and arbitrariness,

which expressed the disparaging approach toward the laws and the supremacy of the National Assembly, which adopted the laws.

My second remark, Comrade Mruchkov said, refers to ethics. Many of the distortions were based not only on rude violations of the laws, but also on the oppression of ethics and human virtues, in whose name the party assumed power. We stopped placing a value on them. The people's decreased confidence in us was prompted by immoral manifestations, the unscrupulous utilization of the official and party posts on the part of some leaders for their personal enrichment, and the improper attitude toward the people with whom we work and whom we lead. I think that we, all those gathered in this hall, are required to assert moral virtues in the power we are exercising, more glasnost in our official and public activities, and more glasnost in our behavior as citizens and members of society.

The third remark, with which the statement of Comrade Mruchkov ended, was related to the present social situation, the dissatisfaction and tension that have accumulated, the pluralism of opinions, and the necessity of greater freedom and judicial guarantees to ensure the citizens right to associate, as provided by the law.

Border Troops Ordered To Dismantle Iron Curtain

AU3011175889 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Roland Machatschke report]

[Excerpt] The Iron Curtain, which after World War II fell heavily across Europe, according to Winston Churchill, will soon be history. This afternoon reports were confirmed in Prague that the border barriers along the border with Austria are to be eliminated.

Foreign Minister Mock, who has sent Austria's old demand for opening the borders to Prague via various political and diplomatic channels since the changes in the CSSR started, says that this is a concrete and practical indication that the CSSR wants to improve its relations with Austria.

No further details are known. However, it seems that a representative of Prague will come to Vienna for talks very soon. One problem is that the CSSR Government is currently being reshuffled, and today it is not known who will be foreign minister on Sunday. [passage omitted]

Spokesman on Border Opening

LD3011181689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Remarks by Marcel Jansen, acting head of the Government Press Department, following a session of the CSSR Government on 30 November—live or recorded]

[Text] The federal government, in its work program today, was to discuss its resolution on beginning work to dismantle the engineering and technical facilities on certain delineated sectors of the Czechoslovak state border with the Austrian Republic. After discussing this, it instructed the minister of the interior to begin work without delay on dismantling these facilities on the state border with Austria.

I think, of course, that these will be sites where this is demanded by the interests of increasing tourism and cross-border contacts, while of course fully respecting the defense needs of our state.

Foreign Ministry Statement on German Reunification

LD3011123489 Prague CTK in English 1208 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, Nov 30 (CTK)—"Czechoslovakia confirms that it considers all-round cooperation in the construction of a common European home with all states participating in the Helsinki process including both sovereign German states to be the lasting priority of its foreign policy."

This was emphasized in a statement issued here today by the Czechoslovak foreign ministry in response to Chancellor Helmut Kohl's ten-point program on German confederation [as received] declared on November 28. The Foreign Ministry statement voiced surprise and concern over the concept of a political reunification of Germany and stressed: "the vital interest of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is stability and security in Europe. As a country which was one of the first victims of Hitler Fascism, we cannot be negligent to steps that could lead to throwing doubts on the post-war settlement in Europe and thus hamper efforts for strengthening European Security and further constructive development of all-European cooperation." the statement said.

75,000 Soviet Troops To Withdraw From CSSR

LD0112000189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2300 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Lieutenant-General Eduard Vorobyev, commander of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in the CSSR, has said that some 75,000 members of the Soviet Army are to leave the CSSR definitively. However, he did not give any precise date.

In an interview for British television, Gen Vorobyev also said that the Soviet units did not intend to interfere in internal developments in the CSSR.

RUDE PRAVO on Withdrawal

LD0112092389 Prague CTK in English 0753 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 1 (CTK)—The question of the stay of Soviet forces in Czechoslovak territory as raised by Premier Ladislav Adamec last Wednesdayt is topical and must be dealt with. RUDE PRAVO wrote today.

The daily added that the whole problem of the stay of foreign forces on the territory of foreign states has been discussed for already a long time and the time has come now for a solution to be found.

The stationing of a group of Soviet forces on Czechoslovak territory is the consequence of the military solution of the situation in Czechoslovakia in August 1968. The Soviet government of Premier Aleksey Kosygin and the Czechoslovak government of Premier Oldrich Cernik signed an agreement on a temporary stay of Soviet forces in Czechoslovakia. i.e. with a time limit. And now already more than twenty years have passed, the daily said.

The Czechoslovak side has as yet held the stand that the announcement of the number of Soviet armed forces in Czechoslovakia is the affair of the Soviet side. Therefore no official figure has been given to date. Foreign sources estimate the number of Soviet soldiers and army officers staying now in Czechoslovakia at some 80,000.

The paper pointed out that at the time of the policy of confrontation European states considered the presence

of foreign forces on their territories as an irreplaceable means to ensure their own security. "However, the situation has changed. The sound idea that security must be ensured first of all by political means and our own armed forces is gaining ground. Every reasonable and sober man understands that an agreement of all states is necessary, i.e. that political preconditions on the basis of a legal agreement must be created for the withdrawal of foreign forces," the daily said.

Peace Committee Asks for Withdrawal

AU0112144989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Nov 89 p 6

[Text] Prague (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee has sent to the highest Soviet representative, Mikhail Gorbachev, a telegram which states:

We are turning to you—during your meeting with President Bush to take a joint step and focus attention on bridging the differences between the blocs and on dissolving at least the NATO and Warsaw Pact military organizations, on the simultaneous removal of any foreign military presence and foreign military bases.

We are calling on you, on the Soviet Union to take a step in that direction and withdraw all its troops from CSSR territory in the shortest possible time.

Gerasimov Says '68 Assessment 'Will Come Soon'

LD3011185189 Prague CTK in English 1823 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Rome Nov 30 (CTK correspondent)—The final assessment of August of 1968 in Czechoslovakia will come soon, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a press conference here today.

The Soviet Union has not hurried with an official assessment for logical reasons. It did not want to be ahead of the Czechoslovak stand. The situation has changed now.

He called for the establishment of a joint Soviet-Czechoslovak commission, similar to the Soviet-Polish commission, to deal with the "white spots" in the history of mutual relations.

The fact must be taken into consideration that the act took place 21 years ago in a completely different situation, in an atmosphere of confrontation between the two blocs, Gerasimov stressed.

Jakes Addresses Friendship Society With USSR

AU2211190389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Nov 89 p 1

[CTK report: "The Foundation of the Work of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society is in the Branches"]

[Excerpts] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee and chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, met on Monday [20 November] in Prague with the ranking aktiv of the functionaries and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the SCSP [Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society] and with chairmen and leading secretaries of the SCSP's regional committees. [passage omitted]

Comrade Milos Jakes thanked the SCSP functionaries for their work to date, and on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee expressed appreciation for the society's work in respect to strengthening the brotherhood of our nations and nationalities with the people of the Soviet Union, for restructuring and democratization in our country, and for socialism, progress, and peace in the world. [passage omitted]

In a later part of his speech, M. Jakes paid attention to the SCSP's tasks in the current period of realizing economic and social restructuring. He stressed that every socialist country implements restructuring in accordance with its own needs, conditions, and traditions. However, the entry to the qualitatively new stage of the development of socialism also has its general features—above all regarding the reform of the economy and the democratization of social and political life. This alone stresses the need for closer ties with one another and for mutual solidarity and effective cooperation.

The CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the CSSR National Front Central Committee underscored that a large amount of work has been done in democratizing society on the platform of the National Front and by means of enhancing the role of the national committees. However, one has to proceed in that respect even more resolutely so that the National Front will become the broadest possible real base for implementing the socialist pluralism of interests and views. Invigorating all of its organizations and bodies should have a positive effect on the entire process of restructuring and democratization and should release the people's creative potential.

In this connection, he said that one has to keep in mind that maintaining economic, social, and political stability is the fundamental prerequisite for the success of restructuring. Any attempt to disturb it and to provoke chaos and anarchy, as some forces have been striving to do, forces which are currently trying to manipulate a part of our cultural front, especially dramatic artists and young people, can only seriously endanger the realization of the necessary changes and lead society into a crisis which would have unforeseeable consequences. The present time demands of everyone real civic responsibility, common sense, and prudence. The SCSP, too, can considerably contribute to this. Exacerbation of emotions and passions does not serve the development rational, cultured dialogue on all urgent issues of restructuring

and the development of socialism, which we fully support and which we need, Comrade Milos Jakes said. [passage omitted]

At the end of the meeting Milos Jakes answered numerous questions asked by those present.

PRC Embassy Objects to Planned 3 Dec Protest

LD0112115189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] CTK has published an announcement by the Chinese Embassy in Czechoslovakia. It says the Embassy has been informed that allegedly some Prague students want to take part this Sunday in a demonstration in connection with the events that took place at Tiananmen Square in Beijing in June.

The press secretary of the Chinese Embassy in Prague said, among other things, that these events are exclusively the internal affair of China and therefore no other country has any right to interfere in them.

Visa-Free Travel Abroad To Begin 4 Dec

LD3011204489 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] I have received a communication from the Federal Ministry of the Interior. It says that effective 4 December of this year, Czechoslovak citizens making private and business trips abroad will be able to cross the state border with a valid Czechoslovak travel document and a completed statistical card. This statistical card will be filled in by each traveller individually.

The card contains the passport number and basic data for statistical purposes. Citizens will present it at all border crossings regardless of the state into which they are traveling.

This measure does not alter the principles for traveling to Poland and the Soviet Union.

At the same time, exit visas which have been issued so far and statistical cards issued by organizations arranging travel for business trips are abolished.

We point out that before traveling to states with which Czechoslovakia has not concluded agreements on visa-free travel, Czechoslovak citizens must arrange the appropriate visa as has been the case so far.

The statistical cards will be available at border crossings and at passport and visa offices from the first day on which this measure takes effect.

Federal Government Discusses Draft '90 Plan

LD3011171889 Prague CTK in English 1635 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 30 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government discussed at its plenary session here today a draft state plan for economic and social development of Czechoslovakia for 1990 which should ensure the fulfilment of necessary prerequisites for the full implementation of a new economic mechanism as from January 1, 1990.

The draft provides for an increase of 2.5 percent in the national income reaching the amount of about 700,000 million crowns. A more rapid increase in non-productive consumption is planned mainly in connection with social consumption of the people. The draft aims at stabilization of the achieved standard of living and improvement of its quality in selected branches. The plan supports restoration and strengthening of balance. Consumer goods's supplies for home market will be increased and demands on imports for production will be maintained on such a level that our foreign debts in non-socialist countries be not increased. [sentence as received] The government also discussed and approved a plan of technical development and standardization for 1990 and a monetary plan for 1990. As compared with 1989 credits and loans given to the enterprise sphere and the people are to increase by 1.25 per cent on average. At the same time the banking monetary policy and the principles of management of the Czechoslovak State Bank to be applied from 1990 were approved.

The government took note of the fact that as from January 1, 1990, the rate of the Czechoslovak crown against the convertible rouble will be strengthened by five percent, i.e. from 10 to 9.50 crowns and weakened by two percent against the currencies of the non-socialist countries.

Report on Jakes Interview During Assembly Recess

LD2911175189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1545 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] We thought that by now we would be able to press on with the direct relay from the Federal Assembly's extraordinary session. However, the break is still on and we do not know how long it will continue. The deputies are talking among themselves informally. They are discussing the proposed Federal Assembly declaration on the current world situation. It seems there are voices that favor and are opposed to the declaration so a lively discussion is ensuing, but it is not accessible to journalists. The lobbies, however, are very lively, with many foreign journalists and television crews.

Journalist Ivan Resler joined one of the large lobby groups.

[Resler, in Czech] Yes, I pushed myself through to a large crowd around former CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] General Secretary Milos Jakes who was asked various, I would say very open, questions.

When asked whether he would vote for the abolition of the leading role of the party, Comrade Jakes answered in the positive and added that life has shown that the

important thing is the quality of our work, that the principle of the CPCZ's leading role has actually damaged us because it encouraged a bureaucratic approach.

When asked whether he had invited the People's Militia to Prague he answered in the negative: I did not invite the Militia. Some of them came and then immediately returned. They thought that it was necessary to reinforce the order-keeping forces in Prague. The action was peremptorily halted.

[Announcer] Have you made any other interesting notes about Comrade Jakes's answers to journalists?

[Resler] Yes, here they are. Comrade Jakes said that all the issues currently being talked about were on the CPCZ Central Committee December session agenda, But events moved faster. The same issues are now being tackled under much more complicated circumstances.

He was also asked how he feels when he hears things shouted at him on the streets. He admitted it is not pleasant. It must, however, always be ascertained to what extent the calls are correct and fair because the majority of people who shout the slogans do not actually know him.

Regarding the general strike, Comrade Jakes said people joined the strike to support the policy of restructuring, which is actually a CPCZ policy. Nevertheless, the party's prestige had suffered and communists are not appearing in the best light in the talks at all levels. The people's confidence will have to be regained.

Much has been said about the Poeple's Militia. Comrade Jakes does not agree with disbanding them, because he sees them as necessary to protect enterprises, to reinforce discipline, and so on. They are allegedly the best fighters for the CPCZ policy. They do it all in their free time, they keep order at celebrations such as 1 May, and they have never harmed anyone.

When asked why the Militia needs guns for this, he said: The People's Militia needs guns in the event the country finds itself in danger of war, for the internal defense of the country. Nevertheless, the basis of their activity is humanitarian [bohuliba].

It is also interesting how Comrade Jakes answered a question about what he will do now. He said he will help the party where it is necessary. Until the congress he will be a member of the Central Committee and then he thinks he will be old enough to leave.

[Announcer] The hall is still in darkness. The moment the deputies convene again we shall continue with the direct relay from the extraordinary session of the Federal Assembly.

Assembly Presidium on Constitutional Amendments

LD3011184189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] The Federal Assembly Presidium promulgated today in Prague, in harmony with the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation, the constitutional law by which the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is amended. The amendment to the Constitution was approved by yesterday's joint session of the chambers of the Federal Assembly.

Hora Appointed CPCZ CC Presidium Spokesman

AU3011172189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Nov 89 p 1

[Igor Sirota report: "CPCZ Press Center Eastablished; Comrade Josef Hora Is the Spokesman For the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium"]

[Excerpts] Prague (Our correspondent)—"Our work is to contribute to the correct understanding of the policy of the present CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] leadership, which cannot be identified with the party leadership and the party base of a week ago. We are actually beginning to form anew this modern and realistic [realna] CPCZ policy. And precisely because of that, we want to provide objective and timely information about all issues," said Josef Hora, spokesman for the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, at a news conference held in the CPCZ press center in the House of Political Education of the CPCZ City Committee in Celetna Street in Prague on Monday evening [27 November].

The press center started operating on Tuesday [28 November], because prompt and complete information about the CPCZ's activity is doubly valuable today, Hora said. The press center is accessible to both domestic and foreign journalists. [passage omitted]

Hora said further that, with respect to the announcement that the congress will be convened in January, a number of demands have been received that the date be advanced. The party leadership is considering such a step, so that it will be held early but, at the same time, so that the party leadership can prepare itself for this and present a program for action. What is involved is not only the formation of an efficient and competent Central Committee, but also the working out of a realistic program for action, which would be the guideline for the country's Communists and proponents of socialism. The work on that program began on Tuesday afternoon [28 November], and a number of experts are participating in this, and this circle can be expanded by those who are interested in taking part in its formation.

Asked why the information media will not be informing the public directly about the Tuesday aktiv of Communists, Hora said that this is the decision of the participating delegates themselves. However, the information will be provided at the next news conference.

Asked about the possiblity of a direct election of delegates to the congress, Hora said that this question will emerge at an aktiv and the decision will be announced afterward. [passage omitted]

CPCZ CC Presidium Meets, Holds Discussions

'68 'Critical Reassessment' Needed

LD3011232589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2300 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium has held deliberations on the upcoming session of the Czechoslovak National Front Central Committee Presidium.

It also held a wide-ranging discussion on the current situation in the party and issued a demand for a critical reassessment of the events of 1968.

National Front Presidium to Meet

LD0112092689 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0800 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee yesterday discussed a session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front of Czechoslovakia which is convened for Sunday 3 December.

It also put forward the demand to reassess critically the events of 1968, including the circumstances of the entry of the troops of five socialist states on our territory, and recommended that working groups dealing with this issue be created.

Forthcoming Front Session Discussed

LD0112103289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee yesterday discussed the coming session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front of Czechoslovakia which is convened for Sunday 3 December.

It expressed confidence that views will be expressed at the session on the activity of the National Front so far in an effort to find solutions for making its further work develop with regard to the current needs.

Assessing the alternative draft of the CSSR constitution, the Presidium agreed that the draft is linked with the Constitutional traditions of our country, the results of the historical development of Czechoslovakia, and the universal human values of democratic and progressive culture.

When assessing the current situation it set the task to communists in leading positions to guarantee in all circumstances the uninterrupted running of the national economy. It appealed to all communists to start and activate dialogue with everyone willing to take part in it.

On the basis of the current situation and the program speech by Comrade Urbanek at the Prague statewide activ of the party on 28 November, the Presidium of the Party Central Committee put forward the need to reassess critically the events of 1968, including the circumstances in which the entry of the troops of five socialist countries took place and recommended that working groups on this issue be created.

CPCZ Spokesman on Talks With Civic Forum

LD3012232389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Josef Hora, press spokesman of the Presidium of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, gave a briefing at today's meeting with journalists in Prague on talks between representatives of the Party Central Committee and Civic Forum which took place at the initiative of the CPCZ.

Answering a question on what the party's attitude is towards the Civic Forum, Josef Hora answered that the Forum was a representative of a part of our society and an expression of reality. Some points of its program are close to the party's views and, in this way, form the basis for talks. Nevertheless, in some questions there are still different standpoints.

He pointed out that the party's leadership dissociated itself from leaflets about income of some artists, considering it a provocation aimed at provoking passions and emotions.

Answering questions by foreign journalists about further existence of the People's Militia, Josef Hora stressed that they served not exclusively for the defense of the Communist Party but helped to protect people's property and he remarked that this question was not the most important these days.

Regarding the results of yesterday's session of the Federal Assembly, he said that the communists envisaged similar results because they were also included in all versions of the party's action program.

He reported, among other things, that the party hotel Praha in Dejvice would be put to use as a normal hotel.

Further on Civic Forum Comments, Meetings

Not To Field Government Candidates

LD3011145789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Interview with Civic Forum press representative Petr Pospichal by unidentified Studio-7 presenter in the Prague Domestic Service studio—live]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] I Now welcome in our Studio-7, Petr Pospichal, a Civic Forum representative for the press. Good day.

[Pospichal] Good day.

[Presenter] As I have been telling you, dear listeners, every moment brings more and more new information. Petr Pospichal has come to tell us what statements the Civic Forum issued today:

[Pospichal] Today, up to this moment, the Civic Forum has issued two short statements. I shall acquaint you with them. The first of them was issued at 1100. [passage omitted] The second statement was issued an hour later at midday. I shall read it too:

After talks with Premier Adamec, the Civic Forum has stated that it is not putting forward any candidates for the government which is being newly formed. If anyone gives an impression at public meetings that he is speaking as a candidate for the Civic Forum—then this impression is wrong. This was the text of the second statement.

Naturally, the Civic Forum is working on a number of other matters. I think that in the course of today other statements will be issued and I shall, personally, or Czechoslovak radio staff will acquaint you with the new statements.

Warns Against N. Moravia Pamphlets

LD3011191189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] The Strike Committee of the Higher College of Mining announced that provocative appeals and leaflets were distributed last night in the North Moravian region and mainly in Ostrava. Certain organizations are trying to disinform the workers and miners and to set them against students and the Civic forum. The posters and appeals were signed by the Independent Workers Movement or not signed at all.

Students and the Civic Forum warn all citizens of the North Moravian region to distance themselves completely from these appeals. They appeal to citizens to maintain calm and not to allow themselves be provoked.

Issues Assembly Statement

LD0112000989 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] We have received the Civic Forum's standpoint on the Federal Assembly's statement on the internal political situation. By agreement with the Civic Forum's television spokesman, we now quote from that standpoint:

The Federal Assembly session was, for the first time in recent years, subject to public scrutiny in that its proceedings were relayed live on television and radio.

The course of the debate, the overall standard of the deliberations, and the harsh attitude to the interests of the students, however, convinced us once again that the efforts to restore democratic principles in society are merely beginning. Convincing proof was given that only citizens who will represent in a dignified way not only their delegate republics, but also the resuming traditions of democracy, humanity, and tolerance should sit at the future meetings of our highest legislative body.

Therefore we cannot slacken our efforts to bring about the genuine and definitive departure of people who have compromised themselves in the recent past. The Federal Assembly deputies who bear this share of the blame for the outdated past should live up to their human and civic responsibilities and resign their seats. There are still many deputies in the Federal Assembly who are able to match the demands of the present time. However, at the same time we are convinced that those deputies who do not meet those demands are well-known, and it will not be necessary to call on them publicly to resign.

Meets U.S. Senators

LD3012235789 Prague CTK in English 2153 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 30 (CTK)—Representatives of the Civic Forum met with visiting American senators here today.

The American guests voiced their full support for the Civic Forum's activities and respect for the results which have been achieved within such a short time. The two sides dealt also with possibilities and prospects of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the USA in various spheres.

Warns Against Communist Infiltration

LD0112121889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0500 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] According to the report which the independent press center handed over to CTK yesterday, the Civic Forum has made its viewpoint clear on its attitude to Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] members, who are getting involved in its work.

It says that the CPCZ members have been joining Civic Forum commissions and committees, that everybody, including members of this party has the right to influence the society and should be given the right to speak at public meetings or in the press.

Sometimes, however, CPCZ members have been joining the Forum with the aim of forming a majority of its membership base. Therefore, it is necessary to accept those who have been acting in harmony with the movement for democracy, pluralism, and the application of human rights, and to expel disrupters, regardless of which party they belong to.

Press Center Advocates Multiple Civic Forums

LD3011212289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] The independent press center has announced that citizens have been asking how they themselves can contribute to the creation of a democratic system. They see the Prague Civic Forum as a kind of center which is able to tell them directly how to act in individual cases. Although the Prague Civic Forum expresses the interests of the civic society which is being born, it cannot give recipes. In its statement it says that democracy cannot be won by one group, it requires the efforts of every one of us. Each group of people which agrees with the basic statement of 19 November and its four requirements is a civic forum. Civic forums can be set up in towns, villages, enterprises, and places of work and they should demand from state organs and social organizations the material provisions for their activity. If local organs boycott or hinder the work of civic forums it is necessary to look for alternative solutions and to disseminate truthful information.

Individual civic forums should strive for the closest possible cooperation. This mutual interlinking will enable the creation of a firmer structure. The independent press center in (U Recitskych) gallery in Vodickova Street, Prague-1, asks the newly set up forums to provide information on attitudes and attacks by organs of power.

Slovak National Council Elects New Chairman

LD3011192189 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] An extraordinary meeting of the Slovak National Council was held in Bratislava today. Editor Ladislav Balko reports:

[Balko] At this moment, the debate is continuing. At the beginning of this extraordinary meeting of the Slovak National Council, Chairman Viliam Saigovic asked to be relieved of his posts in the highest representative body of the Slovak Socialist Republic, which the deputies approved. Questions and proposals on the election of a new chairman of the Slovak National Council were then offered. The deputies held a secret ballot to elect either Deputy Rudolf Schuster, until now chairman of the East Slovak National Committee, or Jozef Sirotnak, secretary of the East Slovak regional committee of the Freedom Party. They elected Rudolf Schuster as new chairman of the Slovak National Council. Of the 128 deputies present, 90 deputies voted for him.

Slovak Government Meets Public Representatives

LD3011233289 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Representatives of the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SR] met with representatives of the civic initiative Public Against Violence in Bratislava today. It was a continuation of an established dialogue to clarify viewpoints. Today's discussions resulted in a communique, the full text of which I shall read to you at the request of both sides:

On 30 November 1989, in the office of the Government of the SLovak SR a meeting took place between Slovak Premier Pavel Hrivnak, First Deputy Slovak Premier Stefan Murin, and Slovak Minister of Justice Milan Cic, on the one hand, and representatives of the civic initiative Public Against Violence on the other: Jan Budaj, Lubomir Feldek, Maria Filkova, Fedor Galo, Eugen VIndl, Milan Knazko, Jan Langos, Frantisek Miklosek, Kamil Prochazka, Ladislav Snopek, Laszlo Szigeti, Martin Simecka, Peter Tatar, and Juraj Zaris.

The first point on the agenda was the attitude of the Slovak Government to the situation after the abolition of Article 4 of the Constitution of the Czechoslovak SR on the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in our society and the state. The representatives of Public Against Violence drew attention to the urgent need to inform the public on the legal and practical consequences of this step in the activity of the government and all the organs of state power and state administration up to the National Committees and workplaces.

According to the statement of the government representatives present, this has produced a qualitative change in the political system. The activity of party organs must be harmonized with the above-mentioned political change. The government, together with the General Prosecutor's Office of the Slovak SR, will ensure consistent adherence to legality and legal order in the current social and political changes. The representatives of Public Against Violence asked the Slovak public for tolerance and mutual respect. The Public Against Violence representatives asked the Slovak Government representatives to abolish state supervision over churches. The problems of this relationship will be discussed in the Government of the Slovak SR, with consideration of the need for a state-wide modification of this question.

Another point on the agenda was the question of personnel changes. The representatives of Public Against Violence expressed the view that the reorganized government should include only people who are blameless citizens and competent experts. At the same time they proposed that the department of the Ministry of the

Interior and Living Environment should be headed by a citizen without political affiliation and a civilian.

A problem arises in connection with the change of Article 6 of the Constitution of the Czechoslovak SR, as representatives of Public Against Violence stressed, namely that of safeguarding legal and material conditions of the activity of the emerging political parties and civic initiatives. The Slovak Government representatives expressed agreement with the need to solve this problem. The representatives of Public Against Violence asked about the government's stand in the case of so-called political prisoners. Minister Milan Cic told the participants in the meeting that at present the possibility is being explored of proposing to the president of the Czechoslovak SR to grant amnesty. Asked by representatives of Public Against Violence what attitude the Slovak Government will adopt in light of the current political situation on the intervention of allied troops on 21 August 1968, the government representatives said:

We are for assessing the causes of social political crises—above all 1968—as an attempt at social reform and rebirth of socialism. We consider this to be one of the decisive prerequisites for the renewal of the citizens' trust in the implementation of social and political, as well as economic transformations.

The meeting took place in a businesslike, constructive atmosphere, and will continue in the second half of next week.

Release of Political Prisoners Called For

Dr Benda Remarks

LD2611214889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1357 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Remarks by Dr Vaclav Benda, founder of the Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Prosecuted, at Letna Rally in Prague on 26 November, following introduction by rally chairman Vaclav Havel—live]

[Text] [Havel] The first group to emerge independent of Charter 77 was the Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Prosecuted, which was established in April 1978. For 11 years it has been monitoring the cases of unjustly prosecuted citizens. Apart from this committee, no one for a long time spoke in defense of these citizens. Regrettably, the work of this committee is also necessary at this moment. We would be glad if the committee had no reason to exist, but regretably it still has. Dr Vaclav Benda, one of the founders of the Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Prosecuted, will now speak about the state of political prisoners. [roar and applause]

[Benda] Fellow citizens. I am speaking to you on behalf of the Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Prosecuted. This committee has been helping, for the 12th year in succession, those unjustly prosecuted and otherwise persecuted citizens and their families, and has been drawing the public's attention to their cases. The majority of the committee have been imprisoned for their activity, some of them for many years. [roar of derision] I am therefore more than pleased to tell you the good news. The most well known political prisoners have been released yesterday and today. These are Dr Jan Carnogursky, Ivan Martin Jirous, Jiri Ruml, Frantisek Starek, Peter Uhl, and Rudolf Zeman.

Unfortunately, I have to say that according to our very incomplete information, for instance, Petr Cibulka, Jakub Dubsky, Setfan Javorsky, Jiri Jelinek, Vladan Koci, Vitezslav Klokoc, Jiri Machacek, Renata Panova, Antonin Pernicky, Stanislav Vitaz, and Ota Ververka continue to be imprisoned. [roar of derision after each name]. Mostly only because they behaved as free and fully fledged citizens of this country.

Moreover, Viktor Dedera, Petr Hausman, Ondrej Hoch, and Josef Fremr [roar of derision after each name] have been incarcerated for many years in cruel conditions for alleged espionage. They were sentenced to 10 years and even longer terms of imprisonment. [roar of derision and chant "release them"]

Criminal proceedings or proceedings for misdemeanour have already been instituted against many hundreds of our fellow citizens still at liberty for purely positive civic acts, most frequently for their participation in rallies or for collecting signatures under the A few sentences petition. [roar and chants of derision] Stanislav Devaty and Roman Rakosnik are forced to remain in hiding. All these proceedings must be stopped without delay. On the contrary, it is necessary to reinvestigate unlawful actions and procedures taken by police and judiciary bodies. Unless this happens the Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Prosecuted must continue its work, and demands the most emphatic support of the public. [roar and chants] Thank you.

We have embarked on the road to free society and a democratic state. We must not tolerate a situation in which the very people who have long fought for these ideals would only be able to look at this road of ours through the barred windows of prisons. [roar and chants of "give us Stepan"]

We do not want him. We shall rather give him a shovel. [roar of approval and chants] He is none too eager to steal it. He is used to a better slice of bread. [more chants] I am glad you have warmed up. Antonin Devaty is in hiding, but he surely looking at us somewhere on a television screen. Let us greet him, [roar] because he will be a true political leader, believe me. Yes, long live Devaty; I am adding my voice to it.

Husak Rescinds Sentences

LD3011181989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] On the recommendation of the federal government, Gustav Husak, the president of the Republic, has invoked the right vested in him by the constitutional law

of the CSSR federation, and has ordered criminal proceedings to be discontinued against Jiri Jelinek and Stanislav Devaty.

At the same time, he has rescinded the prison sentences on (Vitezslav Kokoz) and the remainder of the prison sentences on Renata Panova, Stanislav Pitas, Vladan Koci, Stefan Javorsky, and Otakar Veverka.

Dubcek Refutes Shevardnadze on 1968 Events

AU2111154089 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 17-18-19 Nov 89 p 6

["Open letter" from Alexander Dubcek, first secretary of the Central Committee of the CPCZ in 1968, and Oldrich Cernik, premier of the Czechoslovak Government in 1968, to GAZETA WYBORCZA; issued in Prague on 6 November: "Dubcek and Cernik Answer Shevardnadze"]

[Text] On Friday 27 October 1989, GAZETA WYBORCZA carried an interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, in which Shevardnadze answered questions put to him by Adam Michnik. Among other questions there were those that touched on the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The USSR minister of foreign affairs stated in that interview that Czechoslovakia is a sovereign state and nobody has the right to impose on Czechoslovakia their own point of view concerning the armed intervention by the five Warsaw Pact countries in August 1968. This statement, made by the representative of the USSR authorities appears 21 years after the armed forces of the Soviet Union, Poland, the GDR, Hungary, and Bulgaria, brutally infringed the sovereignty and the independence of the Czechoslovak state, and changed—by this intervention—the political line of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ). Under the pressure of these armed forces the country was forced to accept political representatives who at this present moment have the right and the competence to pass an opinion on this unprecedented act. Anyone can quite easily make a guess at the sort of appraisal regarding the 1968 armed intervention, that the Czechoslovak nation can expect from its present authorities.

The Soviet Union respects the position, past and present, that the Czechoslovak Government has taken on this matter. What opinions do they have in mind? Do they mean the position of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPCZ adopted on 21 August 1968, in the matter of the intervention by foreign armed forces—a position that was adopted in the presence of the president, the chairman of the National Assembly, the premier, and the CPCZ first secretary—a position which was later confirmed by the government and the National Assembly of Czechoslovakia, or do they mean the position that was subsequently taken in this matter by party and state organs during the period of normalization?

It is also a matter of whether the Soviet Union identifies with the present Czechoslovak authorities in their appraisal of the events of those days, or—to put it bluntly—whether it regards its decision of August 1968, as correct—both, politically and legally—that is, whether it accepts this decision and will continue to stand by it in the future.

The USSR foreign minister—by his own admission—includes himself in that category of politicians who approach decisions that have been taken by society, with due regard.

The decision to intervene with the armed forces of the above mentioned states, was taken by the first secretaries of the respective communist and workers' parties, and the chairmen of the defense councils of these countries.

These state activists infringed the following—to mention only the most important things:

—1. The statutes of the Warsaw Pact, through the use of armed force against one of the members of this defense grouping of the European socialist countries.

—2. The Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, the sovereignty and the independence of Czechoslovakia, as well as the separate alliance treaties concluded between our country and the states who took part in this act of force against the Czechoslovak nation.

—3. The Joint Declaration that the representatives of these countries signed with the first secretary of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, and the chairman of the Defense Council of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, on 3 August 1968, in Bratislava.

The armed intervention by foreign forces on Czechoslovak territory was nothing less than an attack on a country which was calmly and consistently working toward the renewal and rebirth of socialism. It was an act of aggression which took place during the period that the CPCZ was preparing for its 14th Congress.

Can one today, after 21 years, consider that act as being based on the norms of international law?

After 21 years of world opinion—and especially the opinion of the international communist and socialist movement—one is now being presented with a defense of this act—an act unheard of in the annals of socialism—on the strength of which, five party leaders took the decision to send in powerful armed forces into an allied country and abduct the first secretary of the Central Committee of the CPCZ.

It is now being maintained that today's opinion of those events can only be changed on the basis of a joint decision. Leaving aside the fact that some of those first secretaries are no longer with us, that the chairmen of the National Councils of Defense have changed, and the fact that some of the communist and socialist parties have now abandoned the principle of their leading role in

society which they held 21 years ago, the Czechoslovak nation must still wait until a new situation matures.

The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic and the National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic—the highest legislative organs of these countries—have now distanced themselves from the decisions taken by their former first secretaries, and chairmen of their respective defense councils, and have apologized to the Czechoslovak people for their participation in this act. However, according to the USSR foreign minister, the decisions of the former Polish United Workers Party first secretary Gomulka, and Hungarian Communist Party first secretary Kadar, will still continue to be binding decisions.

Decisions in such a crucial matter as the use of the armed forces of foreign states to solve the internal problems of our country, could only have been taken by the legal authorities of Czechoslovakia, in the name of the Czechoslovak people. During the last 21 years there have been no attempts to prove that the legal Czechoslovak authorities ever asked for armed help. On the contrary, all official institutions have unequivocally condemned the use of armed foreign intervention, and have called it a violation of Czechoslovak sovereignty, and an infringement of international law.

In the interview, there is allusion to Czechoslovak appeals for armed help. Our public opinion waits with baited breath for proof that any Czechoslovak citizen, acting behind the backs of the legal authorities—that is, the president, the National Assembly, and the Central Committee of the CPCZ—actually appealed to the neighboring states for military help.

Even if some people like that actually existed, at that time they had no valid powers from our legal authorities. Thus, such an argument cannot change the essential fact that the decision taken by the first secretaries of those five intervening countries, was illegal and anticonstitutional.

As a result of the brutal aggression—led by the Soviet Union—during the night of 20 to 21 August 1968, the Czechoslovak people were deprived of their incontrovertible right to decide their own fate and the direction of their own social development.

The process of political and economic reforms which began in Czechoslovakia under the leadership of the CPCZ, and which could have led to the establishment of a prosperous socialist society, was crushed by foreign armed forces in a manner that the Czech and Slovak nations had hitherto not experienced. For 21 years, our people have lived and worked in conditions that were imposed upon them by the political and military institutions of these five member states of the Warsaw Pact. This is a historical fact which has now become a part of our material and intellectual life.

Czechoslovak society has a right to expect that the interested countries who are now reassessing their old decisions, will now begin to reconsider whether this most unjust act really fits in the framework of the current policies of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and Bulgaria—whether these countries still agree with that decision, or whether they—independently, and without looking over their shoulders at each other—will now begin to distance themselves from it.

An independent analysis of former decisions is a part of democratic transformation. The Czech nation cannot imagine that after 21 years, such a crucial fragment of its recent history can be passed over in silence.

Prague, 6 November 1989.

Alexander Dubcek—in 1968, first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Oldrich Cernik—in 1968, premier of the Czechoslovak government.

PAP Interviews Dubcek on Poland, Hungary

LD2511005189 Warsaw PAP in English 0024 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, Nov. 24—One and a half hours after the manifestation on Wenceslas Square, PAP correspondent in Prague asked Alexander Dubcek for his opinion on the correctness of the road which Poland and Hungary have chosen in recent time. The former general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee stated:

"Both countries neighbouring on us had chances for their own, right, wise road to democracy already 20 years ago...but this chance, not for their fault, was wasted. Now, seeking the best concepts of development for themselves, they are experiencing—particularly Poland—tremendous economic and political difficulties. I know very well that the recent years are not to blame for this but the periods which preceded them, the results of which the societies of Poland and Hungary feel till this day. The members of past leaderships of these countries are especially to be blamed.

"Poland is searching for solutions, and this is difficult. She does this—as I observe—in being guided by the well understood good of her citizens. I personally believe that this will work out, like I believe that the future belongs to socialism but not of the kind offered us by Brezhnev and his predecessors. Socialism as a system has not yet said—because it thus far has not been allowed to—the final word."

Interview With Dubcek at Letna Rally

AU3011135789 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 27 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Alexander Dubcek, former first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, by Jaroslav Hanzel in Prague on 25 November: "Do Not Stop!"]

[Text] [Hanzel] Once again, after 21 years, you are appearing before the nation here on Letna. What are your feelings?

[Dubcek] "The crux of the matter is that it was not me who was hurt, but all honest people. Since 21 August 1968, our nations have been insulted by the Warsaw Pact armies' intervention. The normalizing regime, which imposed itself upon the whole of our society, made this insult even deeply. All those who believe in, persist in, and who demonstrate a healthy democratic position deserve to appear on the tribune today. I have a feeling that once more something is happening here. We are all united again; we all want to ensure that things get better, that a new era dawns—a new Prague Spring. It is already dawning."

[Hanzel] Did you expect that our revival would come so suddenly, so tumultuously, and, particularly, with our citizens' astonishing unity?

[Dubcek] "In politics, some things come sooner and some things come later. The truth is that in our country it took a little longer, but nowhere was there harmony. Those of us who stood outside the official political structure were in the very place where a healthy life never ceased to pulse—in the lives of ordinary people. They, and all of us, have raised themselves up and, therefore, today's ferment is so impressive. You correctly heard an appeal from the tribune: It is necessary to preserve calm and peace. I will say this to you: There is magnificent culture and a great deal of experience in our nations. Some people would gladly tone things down via the above-mentioned statement. On the contrary, it is necessary to go further. We must not stop. We must only go forward."

[Hanzel] I have just returned from Moscow and have conveyed to you a message from people's deputy S. Stankeyevich as well as the previous statements made at my personal meetings with A. Sakharov, J. Afanaseyev, G. Popov, V. Korotich, and others regarding the so-called Czechoslovak question.

[Dubcek] "The stance represented by S. Stankeyevich and others, especially by academician A. Sakharov, the outstanding representative of Soviet science—whom I greatly admire—reflects what is felt by the overwhelming part of Soviet society: that it is necessary to urgently resolve this problem.

"A decisive statement concerning this will contribute toward restoring our traditionally close neighborly relations. They were severely disrupted by the military intervention of 21 August 1968. This dark stain cannot be wiped out of history, but the essential thing is that it is necessary to go on. While on the road of our nations' revival we must support one another, both the USSR and the other East European states as well as the whole world, so that our common road is crowned with success. I have just found out that M. S. Gorbachev, the Soviet Union's most senior representative, declared in Moscow PRAVDA that Soviet society's aim is socialism with a human face [socialismus s likskou tvari]. I see a great deal in this stance and it reminds me of our previous difficult beginnings. I am very pleased that I lived to hear not only this declaration but, first and foremost, that this humanistic idea lives on, independent of those who tried in vain to suppress it."

[Hanzel] In what way can our society, which paid for the policy of past decades with such heavy losses, be more speedily revitalized?

[Dubcek] "Speedily is a relative concept. We must resolve the most burning problems immediately and urgently. Something new is happening every day—from our personal affairs to getting rid of all kinds of ballasts. Scope is opening up for further revitalizing our growth. Further solutions will require a process of programs. The people expect this. Everyone is waiting to see what will happen tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, and after that so that we can get rid of all the brakes and burdens holding us back. That is today's fundamental issue."

[Hanzel] Today Prague welcomed you with repeated cries of Dubcek, Dubcek, Dubcek. Will you return to political life?

[Dubcek] "I never left it. I was constantly in it. I think that not only those who are at the top are in politics but that policy is also made from below. Those at the top tell us that social and political matters cannot be settled on the street. However, for a long time, my convictions and the whole of our revival movement have been based on the fact that policy stems from and depends on the street. That is the conscience of the nation and the conscience of the people. The sources of policy must be constantly drawn from there."

Peace Committee Presidium Meets, Changes Name

LD2511191989 Prague CTK in English 1835 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 25 (CTK)—"We are for socialism, full implementation of human rights and solution of all problems by dialogue", a statement of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee Presidium on the current events in Czechoslovakia delivered at today's committee plenary sessions said.

The statement expressed disapproval of the excessive action of security forces in November 17, but also rejected the misuse of these events for inciting unrest.

The Czechoslovak Peace Committee was renamed the Czechoslovak Peace Council.

The plenary session dealt with the current situation in Czechoslovakia. Participants in the session supported the idea that in Czechoslovakia today, it is a question of the revival of socialism. They appreciated and emphasized the attitudes of students who express clearly that they are for socialism, but a socialism deprived of all deformations.

The plenary session approved a bill on alternative civilian military service in Czechoslovakia which the Czechoslovak Peace Committee Presidium passed to the Council of National Defence and the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly.

The session also discussed and approved the document called "Position and Tasks of the Czechoslovak Peace Movement in our Society" which characterized the tasks of Czechoslovak peace activities.

According to the document, the main tasks of the Czechoslovak peace movement are inter alia enlargement of its participation in encouraging efforts to reach a world without nuclear arms, achieve radical cuts in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, reduction of military expenditures, liquidation of chemical arms and a ban on arms deployment in outer space.

Deputy Chairman of the World Peace Council Tomas Travnicek informed the plenary session of the Czechoslovak proposals to improve activities of the World Peace Council. The Czechoslovak Peace Council favours the simplification of the organizational structure of the World Peace Council.

Further Reportage on 17 Events, Investigation

Peace Committee Condemns Events

LD2211101389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] The Presidium of the CSSR Peace Committee has discussed the situation which arose following the memorial celebrations in connection with the anniversary of 17 November. It expressed disagreement with the inappropriate action of the law-enforcement units, as well as with the attempts to misuse the situation which arose to provoke unrest and disturb peace among our citizens. We support socialism which safeguards social rights for people, support restructuring and democratization of our society and thus full implementation of human rights.

The Presidium of the CSSR Peace Committee expressed the conviction that our working people, workers, farmers, intelligentsia, just like students, are able to solve the current problems by means of dialogue, in a peaceful atmosphere.

Wounded Civilians To Be Compensated

LD3011144189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] The Czech State Insurance Office is making use of the possibilities accorded through legal provisions and will provide financial compensation according to the degree of injury to wounded civil participants of the student manifestation in Prague on 17 November.

It appeals to the wounded participants who received treatment on 17 or 18 November that they should contact the personal insurance department of the General Directorate of the Czech State Insurance Office at 16 Spalena Street in Prague 1.

Prosecutor Urged To Speed Up Inquiry

LD3011164989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, gave a letter to Prosecutor General Jan Pjescak from Czech Minister of the Interior and the environment Vaclav Jirecek in Prague today.

The letter, which was sent to him today by Czech Premier Frantisek Pitra contains further facts which could help to elucidate the events of 17 November.

Karel Urbanek also asked the Prosecutor General again to speed up the investigation of the case as much as possible.

Investigating Commission Meets

LD3012230689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] A parliamentarian commission established to investigate the excessive intervention of the forces of order enforcement against students on 17 November met today in Prague for its first session.

Members of the commission discussed the course of work and listened to information provided by the General Prosecutors of the Czechoslovak SR [Socialist Republic] and Czech SR—Jan Pjescak and Jaroslav Krupauer—and Gen Maj Jan Kollar, chief army prosecutor.

Present at the meeting besides deputies of the chambers were representatives of the strike coordination committee of students and representatives of the City Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth, as well as legal experts of the Civic Forum.

Students at an improvized news conference with journalists said that they were happy about the course of the deliberations but felt bitter about unobjective, little, or nonexistent knowledge of information, especially of deputies from outside of Prague on the events of the 17 November.

Representatives of the Civic Forum stressed that the result of the deliberations should not be so much a specific punishment of members of the forces of order and enforcement as rather determination of political responsibility of power organs.

Slovak Activist Kusy Predicts End of Regime

AU2411164389 Vienna WOCHENPRESSE in German 24 Nov 89 pp 38-39

[Interview with Slovak rights activist Miroslav Kusy, "one of the leading minds of the Charter 77 movement, who received a suspended sentence in Bratislava last week," by unidentified reporter; date and place not given: "The Last Chance: A Sort of Coup"]

[Text] WOCHENPRESSE: Why is there no potential Gorbachev, Poszgay, Krenz, or Modrow in the CSSR?

Kusy: Every movement has its careerists who would like to have a finger in the pie—if it helps them to acquire a strong image. In our country, too, a Gorbachev may come, perhaps from one of the fringe organizations. However, as soon as somebody comes who represents a danger to the leadership, they try to stain his reputation and to discredit him: "Look here; he is no better either."

WOCHENPRESSE: During his visit to Vienna, Prime Minister Adamec made not just negative statements on the Prague Spring. Is Adamec the great reformer?

Kusy: That is just talk! That is in no way reflected in domestic policy. These interviews in Western media are not published in our country.

WOCHENPRESSE: What would be the criteria for a genuine change of course by the Prague leadership?

Kusy: The party leadership must give up the doctrine on "the lessons from the crisis development" (the justification of the crushing of the Prague Spring). This has been demanded by the opposition. It would signal upcoming changes. However, that would also mean that the present leadership admits that it is illegitimate.

WOCHENPRESSE: Adamec also announced closer cooperation with the other parties in the CSSR.

Kusy: An alternative political force, such as Solidarity in Poland, has never established itself in our country. Vaclav Havel is a case in point; he desperately refuses to become a politician. He only wants to be a writer, even though he was forced into politics. This standpoint is shared by almost all Charter members.

WOCHENPRESSE: So there is no counterbalance in the country to the present leadership?

Kusy: In 1968, we were also desperately looking for qualified alternative forces. However, once the people were given freedom, qualified people were suddenly found. That could also be the case now. However, as compared to 1968, these people would not come from the ranks of the Communist Party. At that time, the core of the intelligentsia was concentrated in the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ]. Now the contrary is the case.

WOCHENPRESSE: Would Aleksandr Dubcek also have to be rehabilitated?

Kusy: Dubcek cannot be rehabilitated by this party leadership. It would be humiliating for him to be co-opted by Jakes. I think that Dubcek would prefer to found a new party which would pursue an independent policy.

WOCHENPRESSE: Could Dubcek not offer himself as an interim solution?

Kusy: It should be considered that Dubcek has also become older. However, perhaps he could really be an acceptable solution to both sides for a short time.

WOCHENPRESSE: In the seventies, 300,000 party members were expelled. There is also a movement of dissident communists called "Obroda." What role do these groups play for the opposition?

Kusy: I know very little about them because they are secret. Nor are they trying to establish contacts to the outside world; they are very closed groups. They are waiting for the proper situation. They published a document recently in which they addressed former party members. The problem of these communists is that the opposition—namely, "Charter 77" or the "Democratic Initiative"—has formed at a different ideological level.

WOCHENPRESSE: In Poland the economic crisis forced the leadership to make concessions; in the GDR the people left. What could touch off a crisis for the regime in the CSSR?

Kusy: The ruin of the economy is noticeable everywhere. We have spent the capital of the past. A new economic system will enter into force as of 1 January 1990. That means that the government will have to take unpopular measures such as massive price increases, the intensification of work discipline, and fighting corruption and theft on the job. So far, the government has ruled according to the motto "bread and circuses." However, to carry out unpopular measures it will now need the people's confidence, which it does not have.

WOCHENPRESSE: How much leeway of action does the CSSR leadership still have?

Kusy: It seems to me that the CPCZ has already missed all of the opportunities. It is difficult to assess what our government's plans are. I assume that it will see its last chance in a sort of coup in which it will get rid of the most hateful people. The government has made several attempts to this effect. However, that was done with so much inconsistency that it remained ineffective. True, they eliminated Vasil Bilak, but in his place they only put people from his surroundings.

WOCHENPRESSE: Why does perestroyka meet with so little response from the ranks of the CPCZ?

Kusy: Because the motive of party membership in our country is basically different from that in the Soviet Union. In the CPSU all directions and groups are represented. The situation in the CPSU is similar to the one we had here in the sixties. However, following the

purges in our country during the seventies, only the conservatives and ultra-conservatives are left. They were people who proved their loyalty to the party by condemning the Prague Spring.

Komarek Warns About Remaining Power Structure

LD3011135289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Report by Barbora Doleckova on news conference with Dr Valtr Komarek, director of the prognostic institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, in Prague on 30 November]

[Text] In my opinion, the problem of the past 2 years has not been caused by the personal imperfections [defekt] of Jakes; the problem has been that he has been drawn by a vast mafia of apparatchiks, born to suppress the year 1968, into their midst, Valtr Komarek said when analyzing briefly the situation which was created in our state in the past 20 years and culminated in recent days.

Twenty years ago a new structure of power, containing some 200 to 300,000 people who oriented themselves toward political repressions, was set up. According to Valtr Komarek a curious situation arose when those 200 to 300,000 apparatchiks in the center, in regions, and in districts, stood against the population of 15 milion. The entire nation knew that the official ideology and policy were based partly on an error and partly on a lie—people respected it formaly in order to survice, but they lived their own lives. Today's changes have their roots, among other things, also in the fact that the threat of Soviet tanks has disappeared. Despite this, at the news conference Dr Komarek warned against a lull. Despite the work carried out by students and the Civic Forum, the structure of power still remains untouched.

'Relapse' Warning Cited

LD3011182689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1440 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Interview with journalist Stanislav Kuzel on scientist V. Komarek's 30 November news conference by unidentified correspondent speaking in Slovak; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] New political stars are appearing these days, as is typical for such stormy development. One of them is undoubtedly Valtr Komarek, member correspondent of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and director of the Institute of Prognosis in Prague.

Today approximately 150 foreign and Czechoslovak journalist met this scientific worker, who has been a government adviser off and on for years.

Among them was Stanislav Kuzel, whom I invited to our microphone.

[Correspondent] What was the main topic of the press conference?

[Kuzel] I must say first of all that there were a number of press conferences with Dr Komarek. This is because the director of the Institute of Prognosis has been a popular personality in scientific circles for a long time and has not been afraid to formulate, whether on his own or on behalf of the institute, courageous standpoints on political and economic developments in our country. However, we can also find these standpoints in official documents of the institute entitled "Summary Prognosis Up to the Year 2,005" and in other works.

Nevertheless, Dr Komarek formulates his own standpoints much more sharply nowadays, and a number of them literally shake the audience. This also happened at the beginning of today's press conference, when Dr Komarek delivered a statement on the current situation in our society.

[Correspondent] Would it be possible to sum it up briefly?

[Kuzel] I admit that it is difficult—however, I will attempt to do it. First, Dr Komarek pointed out that it would be a mistake if the public were to allow itself to be deluded into too great a calm by the fact that the changes in the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] leadership took place and that under pressure from the opposition changes have also taken place in the government. In his view the principle danger threatening the current progress toward a democratic society lies in the existence of an untouched and extensive party and bureaucratic apparatus which has for the entire 2 decades following the year 1968 usurped the power and persecuted every view different from the official one.

According to Komarek, in this way the situation has developed that an educated European nation with its democratic traditions and ideals lived under the dictate of a group of about 300,000 people who, in the name of rank and file Communists, usurped the right to rule over 15 million others in this state. This, however, was only possible until the threat of Soviet tanks disappeared after Mikhail Gorbachev took up his post. The Soviet political and scientific circles hoped that the party leadership would begin with Hungarian-type reforms and real restructuring of our society after Milos Jakes took up the post of the general secretary of the Communist Party .

Nevertheless, this was a grave mistake—on the contrary the governing strata began to become nervous about the events in the Soviet Union, Poland, and Hungary and began to switch from political repression to physical repression, which culminated on 17 November of this year. The Soviet comrades realized that in the CPCZ there was no trend of renewal. According to Dr Komarek's view, such a trend could not even develop because following the screenings in 1969 and 1970 all progressively thinking people were either expelled or suspended from the party.

Only since 17 November have the people pulled themselves together—thanks to the action of students and artists—to overthrow the supremacy of the party apparatus. Because the opposition led by the Civic Forum is inexperienced in politics, according to his view, there is a danger of a relapse. Though the CPCZ logically calls for peace and discipline, under this veil new conservative forces of the still unrenewed apparatus could organize themselves and attempt to reverse the developments of the last few days.

The danger, according to Dr Komarek, lies in the fact that in this way anarchy could be created. Otherwise, the current development is logical and irreversible; it is possible only to slow it down.

[Correspondent] These are very grave, critical words. However, did journalists also have time at this press conference for their questions?

[Kuzel] Yes, and there were a lot of them, from both the political and economic fields. I asked, because I know that Dr Valtr Komarek is a CPCZ member, what his view is on the role of the CPCZ in society in the future. This is his answer:

[Komarek] I do not hide the fact that during the last few months I have helped Mr Adamec with an idea that on the way to a reform solution following the Hungarian model he should take Mr Jakes' post. Therefore, I do not think that these Adamec-Forum sides would be the representatives of something which should be feared. The problem is in those things which have again begun to organize themselves behind Adamec and which will again want to impose its influence on him.

Of course, for long years it has been clear to me because of my education that communism is absolute nonsense. The only thing which can be seriously discussed is socialism. Nevertheless, even here none of the former Communist Parties knows what the party in fact wants and what the party should follow. That is also why the majority of our nation does not want today any socialism which is not clear and does not guarantee anything. I point out again that the nation in question is educated. That is why I think that the Communist Party, even if it dismantles its apparatus, does not have great chances. The majority of the CPCZ members are honest people and they should take care that this departure is honest.

Communists Expelled in '68 Set Up New Party

LD3011230989 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] A constituent meeting of a coordination group to set up a Democratic Socialist Party was held in Bratislava today by a group of expelled communists. They were expelled by the party because of their attitude in the years in 1968-69, by middle-aged and younger members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and nonparty members.

The new political party is based on the traditions of democratic socialism; its platform is based on the principles of political pluralism, an alternative understanding of social ownership, and a universal explanation of human rights. It wants to enter into a dialogue with all those who want to renew internal stability in society. It wants to be an open party for all advocates of democratic socialism in Slovakia, regardless of their social, national, and religious affiliation.

Adamec Receives Evangelical Church Leader

LD2911162789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Today in Prague, Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec received Josef Hromadka, Synod Senior of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren and Chairman of the Ecumenical Council of Churches. He discussed with him the results of the talks with the representatives of the Civic Forum and today's talks with representatives of political parties and social organizations.

Josef Hromadka said that the Ecumenical Council of Churches has expressed confidence in Ladislav Adamec and support the proposal that he continues to head the Federal Government after it is reconstituted.

Theater Organization Calls for CPCZ Congress

LD2511144689

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1130 GMT on 25 November carries a 3-minute report on a meeting of the Vinohrady Theater party organization. The organization convened for an extraordinary meeting on 25 November to discuss the results of the 24 November Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee meeting.

The report notes that following the theater organization's meeting, actor Jaroslav Moucka read out the organization's position on the CPCZ meeting. He said, "We do not know whether we are to consider the cadres changes in the highest party bodies as an attempt to preserve continuity, or whether this is a test of endurance of the membership. Or, is this a time reserve needed for making a contact with those democratic initiatives with which it would be possible to tackle this nationwide crisis?

"In our view, since Friday November 17, 1989 the party has lost its leading role in society and has been maintaining it to this day only through the means of force. We are convinced the present Central Committee is unable to lead the party out of the deep crisis. The newly elected presidium represents evidence of this. The comrades who let themselves be reelected do not have a sufficient grasp of the seriousness of the situation. We therefore demand the fulfilment of our requests and the resolution of the theatre's party organization dated 20 November 1989. We once again demand the departure of all compromised members of the Central Commitee of our

party. We demand the replacement of the whole Central Committee and the election of those members who will enjoy the trust of the membership of the CPCZ. We demand an immediate convocation of an extraordinary CPCZ Congress, where the deputies would be elected directly by the membership. This is signed on behalf of the primary organization of the CPCZ, Vaclav Sloup, chairman."

Human Rights Body Meets, Outlines Demands

LD2711222289 Prague CTK in English 2100 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 27 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation discussed at its session here today the current situation in Czechoslovakia with regard to the mission and tasks of the committee.

A report of the committee said that the Czechoslovak president has complied with its request of November 24, 1989, and pardoned a number of prosecuted Czechoslovak citizens. The report stressed, however, that not all persons concerned have been pardoned. The committee appealed to the Czechoslovak bodies to act similarly also in the case of other criminal offences whose social dangerousness has ceased with regard to the changed situation.

The presidium delegated its representatives to the commission for the investigation of the security forces' action on November 17, 1989, and asked the prosecutor-general to announce final results of the investigation of the adequacy of the police steps taken in January 1989, for which the committee asked already in January 1989.

The presidium stressed the preparedness of the committee to share actively in the completion of the laws on the freedom of assembly and association. It also stressed the necessity to extend the regulation concerning legal protection of the individual against the abuse of power, to pass a new bill on travel documents and a bill on the press which would correspond with the international obligations of Czechoslovakia, and to issue a law on the protection of the environment.

TV Staffers Demand Truthful Reporting

AU2811151989 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 24 Nov 89 p 3

["kcr, zpo"-signed passage in the "Reactions, Views, Responses" report on events in the CSSR]

[Text]

Meeting in the Building of the Czechoslovak Television

Thanks to our friends, it was easy for us to penetrate the main building of the Czechoslovak Television [CST] in Prague-Kavci Hory like conspirators, despite the fact that the guards in the porter's lodge had been beefed up by members of the Public Security Corps. Jiri Hrabovsky of Television News opened the meeting—which had begun in garages before 1300 (it was already the third meeting)—by noting that a quantity of prepared materials did not pass the strict censorship. For its telecast on Wednesday [22 November], CST staffs acquired a number of authentic testimonies, reportages, and interviews (for example, with the Czech Philharmonic, Vera Caslavska, and such like), but nothing was broadcast. About 1,000 participants were then acquainted with the resolution addressed to the aktiv of delegates to the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] conference in the CST on the session of the CPCZ Central Committee to be held on on 24 November. In the resolution they demand a new party leadership which would not permit the repetition of the mistakes committed to date. The resolution has not yet been aired.

Representatives of the assembled CST staff members submitted to the management demands, saying that in the event of their rejection they will go on strike on the premises. They demanded, above all, a live relay of yesterday's [23 November] gathering in Wenceslas Square and an immediate airing of the recording made by Film Academy students during the Friday [17 November] demonstration, which authentically records the tough intervention by the order-enforcement units in Narodni Trida. They favored truthful and uncensored broadcasts, especially about topical domestic political events in Television News and Aktuality [Current Affairs program]. After that, members of the CST management appeared among the assembled staffers, and said that after their talks with the Federal Government they could not accept the demands of the television staffers, who told them they were going to strike. Among those present were actors, for example, M. Moravec, J. Hanzlik, J. Brejchova, J. Sulcova, and others, all of whom expressed their support for them.

There followed a tempestuous discussion about the purpose of the strike. It became clear that it could not be ensured either technically or organizationally that there would be an interruption of television casts (other studios would take Prague's role). Therefore, in the end, those assembled agreed that, for the time being, they would not let broadcasting out of their hands (so as not to be replaced by other bodies). However, they want objective and truthful reporting, prepared by people who are not compromised, who enjoy the audience's trust. Therefore, J. Hanzlik offered that popular actors would prepare interviews together with CST reporters. You were able to see the outcome of this on your screens yesterday [23 November] when watching Television News and Aktuality.

Media Receive Appeal Addressed to Communist Party

AU3011122389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Nov 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Announcement"]

[Text] The Czechoslovak mass information media, including the [Bratislava] PRAVDA editorial office, have received an appeal addressed to the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, the CPSL [Slovak Communist Party] Central Committee, all CPCZ members as well as to former party members expelled from the party, signed by Anton Tazky, Frantisek Barbirek, and Alexander Dubcek.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium asked the PRAVDA editorial office to state that the appeal contains demands which were on the agenda of the two extraordinary CPCZ Central Committee sessions, the content of General Secretary Karel Urbanek's television speech, as well as the content of the speech by Ignac Janak, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, to the CPSL Central Committee extraordinary session. The CPCZ, the CPSL, and the Government of the Slovak SR have entered into a dialogue with the representatives of the civic forum [first letters not capitalized] and other informal structures. The CPSL Central Committee and the Government of Slovak SR will continue the dialogue, which will be gradually solving all problems.

Writers Union Calls for Working Committee

LD2611181889 Prague CTK in English 1530 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 26 (CTK)—The Czech Union of Writers today urged its committee to step down and called for the formation of a working committee to convene a special writers' congress as soon as possible.

In a statement issued today, the Czech Writers' Union said that the Czech nation and Czech writers always fought for social progress and freedom of the individual. The firmest guarantee of this freedom, however, is the consciousness of the people which can be influenced only by truth and nothing but truth.

The task of the working committee will be to see to it that guarantees are created for a truly democratic platform for a plurality of opinions, in which the artistic value and humanistic content of a work of art and not a cultural-political monopoly of any political party would be decisive.

The congress would be expected to unite all streams of Czech literature on this democratic basis, the statement said.

Once Banned Literature Now Publicly Available

LD3011190289 Prague CTK in English 1211 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 30 (CTK)—Literature so far banned starts to be introduced to libraries in Bohemia and Moravia and put at the disposal of the public, following the decision of the Czech Ministry of Culture this week.

Czech Deputy Minister of Culture Frantisek Stoklasa has said in an interview to CTK that the release of prohibited literature documents the efforts to preserve the continuity of all Czech written literature.

"We support the idea of return of all Czech written literature to the context of the whole Czechoslovak culture for which the Union of Czech Writers had already called. In my opinion the present time will enable its quicker realization. For instance, we reckon with the publishing of Czech authors who published their work abroad", Frantisek Stoklasa said.

"Prohibited literature in Czechoslovakia comprises book titles mainly of Czech and Slovak authors, socio-scientific publications and collections on Czechoslovakia published both in Czechoslovakia and abroad which were prevented from reaching the public in the past forty years, director of the State Library of the Czech Socialist Republic in Prague Jaroslav Beranek has told CTK.

This literature was collected in special funds of the state library in Prague and in regional scientific libraries of these funds. Works of more than one hundred authors were given at the disposal of the public already last January, and at present the second stage of releasing these works takes place. Works by authors such as Josef Skvorecky, Milan Kundera, Pavel Kohout, Jiri Hejda, Ivan Klima, Vladimir Skutina and others return to lending funds of 40,000 libraries in Czechoslovakia and Moravia.

Jaroslav Beranek said that newspapers and magazines published in Czechoslovakia mainly in the years 1968-1969 and in the 1970s are also being released. The state library in Prague prepares for the public an exhibition where part of the released titles will be presented.

Marxism-Leninism Withdrawn From College Course

LD3011211789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] On the basis of changes in the Constitution, the Czech Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Culture has decided to abolish the teaching of Marxism-Leninism at universities and colleges and to introduce a new concept of social sciences teaching. The present changes affect contents, organizations, and cadres. The nomenclature of teachers of the institute of social sciences is being abolished, and teachers will be accepted

regardless of their party membership. The main criterion for their engagement will be their expertise and moral qualities.

The chancellor of Charles University will set up an institute of social political sciences at the individual faculties of the university. The students will be able to choose from a number of social sciences and lecture courses, and will also be able to choose their own tutors.

The exam on Marxism-Leninism is also being abolished. It will not be a part of the final state and Ph.D. exams. Instead of compulsory teaching of the history of the international workers' movement, of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and of scientific communism, the students will be able to study political science and selected chapters from modern history with the emphasis on national history.

Youth Daily Editor Apologizes for Censorship

AU2811162489 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 24 Nov 89 p 1

[Miroslava Mouckova, MLADA FRONTA Chief Editor: "Apology"]

[Text] I apologize to the readers of our daily in some regions, where they got it only today. The reason for this was a partial but fundamental change of the content of reports from Wenceslas Square. It concerned Prof V. Silhan's words and a change of a photograph. The changes were made on the basis of the publisher's decision which was made late at night in view of the current political situation. I accepted that decision because of the fact that in the course of the day the collective of the editorial office had unequivocally expressed its support for the policy of the leadership of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union.

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 27 November on page 5, in its report on the debate at the extraordinary session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee on 24 November, quotes Vasil Mohorita, chairman of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union (SSM), as having said that "yesterday, for the first time in MLADA FRONTA's history, I let the rotary printing presses stop because, in my opinion, the SSM press cannot serve to disseminate some information."]

Public Opinion Poll on Political Situation

LD2511215689 Prague CTK in English 2104 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 25 (CTK)—As much as 88 percent of Czechoslovaks believe that cadre changes in top bodies would be beneficial, according to an opinion poll conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion research on November 23-24.

A total of 450 people from the whole of Czechoslovakia and 260 from Prague were questioned.

In May 1989, the majority of the people (58 percent) did not consider people standing at the head of the restructuring process a guarantee of its successful realization.

Eighty-four percent of those questioned called for maintaining calm and prudence, while 85 percent were in favour of continuing the restructuring process. Eighty-one percent of the questioned thought that official talks with opposition forces would benefit the present situation.

On the other hand, the majority (58 percent) believed that strikes would be harmful.

As regards the action taken by security forces against students on November 17, 79 percent of the questioned believed it should not have happened at all, 14 percent regarded the action necessary but excessively harsh and only four percent agreed with the action.

Trust in information sources was differentiated, 25 percent trusted most the Czechoslovak media, 23 percent the Western media, 28 percent were distrustful and compared different information sources.

On the whole the population of Czechoslovakia [figure indistinct] percent believed Czechoslovakia should follow its own path of social development.

Characteristic of opinions in Prague is frequent disagreement with the leadership of the Communist Party and its policy to date. Prague inhabitants are more inclined to demonstrations and strikes.

Various Dailies View Political Developments

LD0112100989 Prague CTK in English 0905 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 1 (CTK)—The daily RUDE PRAVO publishes an article of Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee member and department head Rudolf Hegenbart on the present position of the Communist Party in society and on the tasks which are waiting on the road towards the renewal of confidence of society.

"If we want to preserve the confidence of the people, we must preserve the continuity of progress and real moral values, to abandon the discredited practices of false friendship, to subordinate personal ambitions to public interest—to serve sincerely the needs of the people", he said.

The daily comments on the abolishing of Article no.4 of the Czechoslovak Constitution on the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in society and the state. Pointing out that is was representatives of the Czechoslovak Communist Party who supported the logic of this step in full harmony with the program of restructuring.

It is not excluded that this constitutional act will be accepted by some fellow citizens, mainly from the ranks of members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, with

a heavy heart. But these days clearly showed us that the declared and constitutionaly enshrined social rules do not mean anything if they do not correspond with reality, and especially the will of a predominant part of the people. The position of any political party in society is not determined by law but by effectiveness of its policy and how its program and its practical realization are in harmony with the interest of the people", the paper said.

In an interview to RUDE PRAVO, member of the leadership of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and secretary of the National Front Central Committee Stanislaw Krecek said that the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Czechoslovak Socialist Party not only could be but will be coalition partners however complicated the present development may be. We must see that National Front represents a long tradition in Czechoslovakia. It is, however, necessary that the National Front change as it is hard to imagine that it could associate all political parties in the future as an umbrella organization without changing anything in its status.

Stanislav Krecek described as most important the keeping of the unity of all political forces, which should be enabled by an open public debate now conducted in individual parties and between them.

The daily PRACE comments on the consequences of the changes of the Czechoslovak Constitution, mainly in connection with the abolition of the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in society.

"The abolition of the leading role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in society has also practical significance. It will result in the fact that the Czechoslovak Communist Party organizations will lose the right to control of the economic management in enterprises and to political and regular control in institutes and offices. It will not be possible for party organizations to require reports on activity, plans, etc...", it pointed out.

Other Czechoslovak dailies also comment on the session of the Czechoslovak parliament. SVOBODNE SLOVO in this connection deals not only with procedural difficulties accompanying this session but also with the fact that among deputies there are former leading functionaries. "For some time yet we shall meet with the Federal Assembly in its present composition—till the next elections. Then a real parliament as a representative and speaker of the people will be born, elected in general elections with the participation of independent political parties, a defender and guarantor of democratic freedoms", it concluded

The Slovak daily PRAVDA pointed out that attacks against party functionaries must not be dictated by the street because this is a part of the tactics of subversive elements. Judgment of any functionary must be exclusively a matter of the party and its frank effort for purification.

The daily also published an interview with former member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Anton Tazky, expelled from the party in 1970.

He stressed that "success or failure of the achieved democratic elements depends on whether these sound forces will insist on the implementation of their demands so that our society becomes a really democratic society based on the ideals of humanity, mutual tolerance and understanding". He pointed to the fact that "the basis of society is the principle of respecting each other and forgiving one another. Where this principle is not observed, there, sooner or later, the social system will disintegrate which is not desirable in this period".

PDRACA wrote that the trade unions movement is in crisis. The managing centre's activities were often an end in itself and were concentrated especially on the effacement of the most striking deformations and shortcomings. Workers need not learn from the street because the slogans on leaflets express also their idea of the trade unions movement, the daily underlined.

Smena pointed out that young people are for the leading party but only on condition that its decisions prove to be wise and good for the society. However, they are resolutely against the party reserving a patent for wisdom, tactfulness, morality and ethics. The paper wrote that if anybody does not agree with the party's policy it does not mean he is an enemy of the Republic.

Further on Party Press Coverage of Unrest

27 Nov Coverage

AU0112080789

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 27 November devotes the following items to the current domestic political situation:

On page 1, it carries a 200-word report on the opening of an extraordinary session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee in Prague the preceding day and a 1,000-word report on party leader Karel Urbanek's speech at the session. Also on page 1, RUDE PRAVO carries a 250-word biography of Karel Urbanek; a 100-word report on cadre changes in the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission; a 700-word Igor Sirota report on the 25 November meeting between a National Front and Government delegation and representatives of the Civic Forum; the 300-word communique on the Federal Government session of the same day; a 350-word interview with Miroslav Huscava, new member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium; and a 100-word "jk"-signed report on a meeting between representatives of the Civic Forum from Brno and Brno Mayor Josef Pernica on 26 November. According to this report, the Brno Mayor agreed to make available to the Civic Forum the premises of the "hall of traditions" in the Brno Town Hall.

RUDE PRAVO's front page also features a 600-word editorial, entitled "Let Us Not Lose Time! Let Us Act!," and which calls for an extraordinary party congress. On page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries Karel Urbanek's 1,100-word television address to the nation; a 2,000-word report on the first day of an extraordinary session of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee; a 200-word report on an emergency session of the Central Trade Union Council; a 100-word report on a meeting between representatives of the CPCZ Central Committee and the "Obroda—Club for Socialist Restructuring" movement of reform communists; a 120-word CTK report on President Husak's decision to halt proceedings against, or to grant amnesty to, several former dissidents; a 300-word report on Czech Prosecutor General Krupauer briefing student representatives about the state of the inquiry into the 17 November police action against demonstrators; and a 200-word report on a discussion meeting held in Prague on 26 November between representatives of the Prague city organization of the Socialist Youth Union and the Civic Forum. Jaroslav Javornicky, a young Prague deputy, is said to have announced at the meeting that he will demand the "resignation of the Council of the Prague National Committee because it demonstrated in the past days that it does not represent the people."

Also on page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 1,700-word Eva Louckova and Jiri Janouskovec report, entitled "Communists Into the Lead of the Struggle for Socialism," on an "aktiv" of Prague party functionaries held in Prague's Palace of Culture on 25 and 26 November, and cadre changes adopted in the Prague party organization. Describing the discussion at the aktiv, the RUDE PRAVO correspondents note that the speakers discussed ways of involving the Civic Forum in the management of society and making it share responsibility. They report that views differed on whether CPCZ members ought to join the Civic Forum. Criticism was reportedly raised regarding the "inconsistent changes" in the party leadership carried out at the 24 November CPCZ Central Committee meeting and "specific proposals were made for the election of new Presidium members—such as Comrades Adamec, Hegenbart, Mohorita—as well as for recalling others." The RUDE PRAVO report mentions that the aktiv was concluded with the national anthem (rather than the International).

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries a 200-word "ma"-signed commentary on the aktiv of Prague Communists held on the weekend, which views the aktiv as "a promising turn in the development of events" because it showed "the workers' determination to implement necessary changes in our country." On pages 3, 4, and 5, RUDE PRAVO publishes accounts, totalling about 15,000 words, of all 44 statements made in the discussion at the 24 November extraordinary session of the CPCZ Central Committee. On page 5, under the headline "From Views, Letters, and Standpoints," RUDE PRAVO publishes a 2,000-word roundup of organizations' and individuals' reactions to the latest developments in Czechoslovakia. In addition to a statement by a group of 80 writers demanding the resignation of the leadership of the Czech Writers' Association, the roundup includes the following noteworthy statements: National Artist Ludvik Raza expresses his "bitter disappointment" at the "insufficient changes" in the party's leadership carried out at the 24 November plenum and adds that this shows that "those who, by their conduct, should be ahead of the times remain captives of their being out of touch with everyone else." Raza also thanks Czechoslovakia's young generation for "having taught their elders this week that the human dignity of the individual is the greatest value today." "Fundamental cadre changes in the interest of overcoming the widening gulf between party representatives and the working people" are also demanded in a letter by Communists from Prague's College of Applied Arts. Apart from statements in support of dialogue and the demands of the striking students and artists, the RUDE PRAVO roundup also includes statements warning against the opposition. Communists from a military unit in Jihlava, for example, ask: "Why do we not clearly expose those who are in the background of the current developments? Why do we not take a level-headed and sober look at neighboring Poland, for example, to see to what ends strikes led the Polish society and to whom they served to gain positions?"

On page 6, RUDE PRAVO carries a 600-word Jan Lipavsky commentary expressing RUDE PRAVO's support for the current process of "renewal of socialism" and warning against the "settling of accounts" and a 450-word unsigned reply to a reader's question about the aims of the Civic Forum; a 200-word report on the resignation of the Czechoslovak People's Party leadership; and a 300-word correspondents' roundup on emergency sessions of regional and district party committees held over the weekend. The report on sessions of North Moravian Communists notes that criticism was expressed about the media, "which carry mostly information and relays from Prague or Bratislava, leaving no room for the regions express different viewpoints." The different political atmosphere outside the big cities is also the subject of a 300-word "zr"-signed report on a rally organized by CPCZ members in Litomerice the preceding day. According to the report, which is also published on page 6, the approximately 1,800 party members who met in the town's main square chanted slogans such as "Long Live the CPCZ," "Long Live Socialism," and "Who Is Havel?," while an attempt by a Civic Forum spokesman to address the rally was "punctuated by spontaneous expressions of disapproval." The report emphasizes that "many young people attended the rally."

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries a 1,200-word report on the rallies held on Prague's Letna Plain on 25 and 26 November. The report mentions that the rallies were addressed by Vaclav Havel and Alexander Dubcek

but provides no details on their statements. It does, however, include the text of Premier Adamec's address at the 26 November rally. The report mentions that "at first the address was received with understanding; later, however, the gathering began to manifest disapproval." The report is followed by a critical reader's letter on the Letna rallies. Petr Raspl from Prague points out that "democratic principles are being violated, circumvented, and misused there" because the crowd "is not willing to listen" to some speakers, and he questions whether the "stirring up of emotions" by the moderator Vaclav Maly is "moral and worthy of a democrat."

According to RUDE PRAVO, the paper received a number of complaints about the televised Prague rallies, "the most frequent of which was: We were given a lesson on what democracy should not look like.... They arrogated the right to speak to themselves, there was no dialogue."

On page 6, RUDE PRAVO also carries a 200-word report on the election of a new leadership of the Czechoslovak Union of Journalists and a 150-word report on a meeting of "representatives of Czech popular music" in Prague on 24 November, at which they established their own "independent" organization, the Union of Authors and Interpreters. According to the report, the Czech Ministry of Culture has already "delivered an approving standpoint" on the new organization's statutes.

Also on page 6, RUDE PRAVO carries a 200-word report on a pontification mass in honor of the recently canonized Agnes of Bohemia held in Prague on 25 November. Cardinal Tomasek is said to have emphasized on this occasion that he "stands behind every word" of his recent appeal to the nation (the authenticity of which was questioned by RUDE PRAVO several days before).

On page 7, RUDE PRAVO carries an 800-word report on foreign media reaction to the events in Czechoslovakia. The report includes the following passage on foreign media evaluation of new party leader Urbanek: "British THE INDEPENDENT: Urbanek is regarded as a liberal. LA REPUBLICA describes him as 'a man of compromise.' IL MESSAGERO stresses that the new general secretary has a clear conscience because he played no role in the repressive actions of recent years. FIGARO writes: A dynamic man belonging to the same generation as Gorbachev. LIBERATION regards Urbanek as a man who could accomplish a calm transition, like Krenz in the GDR. He looks likable and is thought to be rather an open minded person. The Western REUTER, AP, and UPI agencies note that Urbanek is not associated with the year 1968 and with the decision 'to crush Prague Spring'." The review also contains reports on Soviet press articles on Czechoslovakia, on comments made by Czechoslovak political emigres in Western media, and on a U.S. State Department statement "expressing confidence" that Karel Urbanek "will act in the interest of civil liberties, political freedoms, and fundamental human rights, for which the Czechoslovak people have long been waiting."

On page 8, RUDE PRAVO carries a 350-word statement issued the preceding day by the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association Central Committee. Besides expressing support for Karel Urbanek and for convening an extraordinary party congress, the statement advocates dialogue with the Civic Forum and other civic initiatives and everyone's free decision whether to join the general strike planned for 27 November or not. The statement also praises the role of students and athletes in "pushing through political reforms" in the country and calls for the expeditious adoption of new laws on assembly and association, a new press law, and "free elections." On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries a 600-word report on a public opinion survey on Czechoslovaks' current political views and a 600-word Frantisek Cinger commentary criticizing the party's attitude to artists over the past 20 years.

Also on page 8, RUDE PRAVO carries a 150-word report on the founding of the "Civic Forum of Czech Writers" on 25 November, which associates writers "who could not publish for 20 years," Czech writers "living and working abroad," as well as some members of the Czech Writers' Association opposing the association's leadership. RUDE PRAVO names, among others, the following signatories: Civrny, Siktanc, Hanzelka, Kanturkova, Havel, Klima, Topol, Vaculik for the first group; Filip, Fleischmann, Vladislav, Stroebinger for the second group; and Horelova and Zacek for the third group.

On page 8, RUDE PRAVO carries a 150-word report on the decision to "suspend" the soccer league and a 600-word Jan Lipavsky commentary entitled "What I Like and Dislike." In the commentary Lipavsky welcomes the "evident activation of the party" demonstrated by the aktiv of Prague Communists held over the weekend. On the other hand, he expresses his "dislike" for some unspecified "extremely ill-considered" speeches made at the Letna Plain rallies which "were teeming with personal pride and could easily be interpreted as incitement to confrontation." Lipavsky also expresses his dislike for slogans which "slander and offend Communists" (such as "Communists are lying"), adding that "they are incompatible with political culture and could make one think that the authors of the slogan 'We Do Not Want Violence' are not serious."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 27 November publishes the following items on the situation in the country, in addition to material on the extraordinary session of the Communist Party of Slovakia (CPSL) Central Committee, items which are also carried by RUDE PRAVO, or items which have been filed from other sources. On page 2, it carries correspondents' reports, totalling 2,000 words, on public rallies held in various Slovak towns on 26 November. In their report on the rally held in Bratislava's Slovak National Uprising Square,

PRAVDA's correspondents express concern about the "escalating invectives about the party, Communists, and the 40 years of building socialism in our country" that were to be heard there. They also deplore that, in contrast to the Letna Plain rally which had its "political antipode" in the aktiv of Prague Communists, the Bratislava rally had no such "antipode."

On page 3, PRAVDA carries the 1,500-word "draft points of departure for drawing up a CPCZ action program," formulated by Communists at the Faculty of Philosophy at Comenius University in Bratislava. The document proposes, inter alia, that the year 1968 be reassessed as a "major attempt at a serious reform and renewal of socialism, which could not be implemented for internal reasons and because of intervention from the outside," that the document "lessons" be "regarded as obsolete"; that honor and party membership be returned to people previously branded as traitors of the working people, revisionists, or opportunists; that the party dissociate itself "fundamentally" from Stalinism; that the thesis about the party's leading role be reassessed; that the recently submitted draft of party statutes be withdrawn and revised; that the founding of new political parties be permitted; and that cases of corruption and abuse of power from the seventies and eighties be expeditiously investigated. The rest of Bratislava PRAVDA's page 3 is reserved for statements, resolutions, and letters by various organizations, institutions, and citizens. Some of them express disagreement with the "half-hearted" and "inconsistent" cadre changes carried out in the party thus far and demand that changes be carried out also in "other structure in all domains of our life." Ladislav Burlas, chairman of the Union of Slovak Composers and Concert Artists, for example, voices "doubt about the ability of the current CPCZ Central Committee and the CPSL Central Committee to meet the tasks with which the present period confronts the party." On its page 6, Bratislava PRAVDA publishes a 350-word CTK summary of S. Vtorushin's article on changes in the CPCZ leadership, published in the 26 November issue of Moscow PRAVDA.

28 Nov Coverage

AU0112084789

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 28 November devotes the following items to the current domestic political situation:

On page 1 it publishes a 100-word list of the new CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat members; a 200-word report on the 27 November CPCZ Central Committee Presidium session; an 800-word editorial on the 27 November general strike; a 60-word report on Mikhail Gorbachev's telegram of congratulations to Karel Urbanek; and a 200-word report on Karel Urbanek's meeting with Czechoslovak Socialist Party Chairman Bohuslav Kucera.

On pages 1 and 2, under the headline "Preparations for an Extraordinary Congress," it publishes a 1,300-word "z"-signed report on the conclusions of the 26 November extraordinary session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee; a 1,600-word roundup of correspondents' reports on the course of the 27 general strike in various enterprises and localities; a 800-word roundup of correspondents' reports on public meetings held after the general strike; and a 1,400-word Vaclav Pergl report on Karel Urbanek's meeting with Kladno workers the preceding day. The Pergl report mentions that Urbanek arrived in Kladno "in a white Lada" (rather than a black limousine), that his visit was not previously announced, and that he came to Kladno before 0600 in the morning, right after the end of the extraordinary party plenum which ended at 0345.

In their reports on the general strike in various parts of the Republic, RUDE PRAVO correspondents stress that the strike had "a token [manifestacni] and not a confrontational character" and that its aim was to give support to the students' demands and to "genuine restructuring."

RUDE PRAVO also interviews an official in charge of the Czechoslovak power grid, who says after 1200 (when the general strike started), electricity consumption dropped by 1,700 megawatts, which is 13 percent of normal consumption. This shows, according to the party paper, that "at many places only a token strike was held and work actually did not stop at all." RUDE PRAVO's account of the post-strike rally in Prague previously covered.

The report on the Bratislava rally mentions that "whistling and chanting of 'too late,'" prevented Slovak First Deputy Premier Murin from addressing the rally. Milan Knazko, the moderator of the Bratislava rally, is said to have told the crowd that, according to the Bratislava police, the crime rate in the Slovak capital "declined almost 75 percent" since the start of the mass demonstrations.

On page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries an 800-word editorial article entitled "Being Honest To One Another," in which the party paper apologizes for its earlier reporting on the 17 November demonstration. The article opens by stating that "for over a week the RUDE PRAVO editorial office feels that distrust has arisen between it and many readers" and concedes that the reason for this distrust is "the incorrect assessment of the events of 17 November in Prague" and the "distorted information published in the 20 November issue". The "professional failure of our correspondents was combined with, and enhanced by, a political mistake," the article adds. To make amends for this, the article continues, "we publish, albeit with a delay, the testimony of Pavel Kaufmann, third year student at the Faculty of Journalism of Charles University, given to a RUDE PRAVO collaborator on 20 November." In the remaining part of the article, Kaufmann describes how riot policemen beat him and his friends while dispersing the 17 November demonstration, even though none of the demonstrators behaved aggressively.

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries a 150-word report on the decision to transform the nomenklatura's "Sanops" hospital in Prague into a medical facility serving the general public; a 50-word report on Vaclav Havel's meeting with a delegation of the Italian Communist Party; a 100-word report on the appointment of a new Czechoslovak Television director; a 60-word report on the decision of the Czech Ministry of Culture to release banned works of literature; a 50-word report on the return of actor Pavel Landovsky and writer Pavel Kohout from exile (after 10 and 11 years respectively) and their appearance at the 27 November Bratislava rally; a 250-word report on the founding of the "Club of Marxist Intelligentsia"; a 150-word report on a meeting of 1,500 painters and sculptors from Prague and their support for the demands of the Civic Forum; a 60-word report on the continuation of an extraordinary session of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee; and a 300-word report on the decision of the Presidiums of the CSSR Federal Assembly chambers to call joint sessions of the CSSR Federal Assembly chambers for 29 November and 12 and 13 December.

On 28 November on page 2, RUDE PRAVO also carries a 1,300-word report, entitled "Reply to Every Question," on a discussion with Minister Without Portfolio Marian Calfa organized by students of Charles University's Faculty of Law the preceding day. Calfa is said to have told the students that several draft laws (concerning the right of assembly and association, the press, and so forth) "are on the table already" and that the "absolutely inadequate and outdated legal norms governing church-state relations" are also about to be changed. He is also quoted as having announced that he had requested the management of Czechoslovak Television that students be given "60 minutes of prime air time on television twice a week for discussions and to express their views" and that "there is no reason" why the planned cut in military service should not apply to students (who currently serve 1 year, compared with 2 years served by their peers) as well. Another participant in the discussion meeting, Doctor Cepl, reportedly proposed that "teachers who had to leave the faculty for political reasons in the last 20 years" be offered a job at Charles University again. On page 3, RUDE PRAVO publishes a 500-word report on a similar discussion meeting, held between Prague economics students and RUDE PRAVO staff journalists. While, according to the RUDE PRAVO report, the students endorsed the demands of the Civic Forum, "not all of them agreed with the stage management of the demonstrations on Letna Plain, where no genuine discussion takes place." Under impressions from the Letna Plain, some students reportedly "voiced the concern lest the criticized leading role of the party be replaced by forces which seek to build their own monopoly of power under democratic slogans."

On page 3, RUDE PRAVO also publishes biographies of the newly elected members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat and a 3,600-word roundup of collective as well as individual statements, views, and resolutions reacting to the domestic political situation. Several of them concern Communists' opinions on the Civic Forum. Zdenek Sedivy, director of the Central Institute of National Economic Research, says, for example, that he agrees with the "absolute majority of the ideas expressed in the programmatic statement of the Civic Forum, some of which were, in one form or another, contained in documents prepared for the 18th CPCZ Congress or should become the foundation of the premises of the new CPCZ leadership's program." He "deplores," however, that the Civic Forum program "does not contain any mention of its stand on socialism." Sedivy says that the struggle for socialist aims must be conducted "exclusively by political means, in a democratic competition between alternative platforms." In this connection Sedivy expresses the hope that the mass media "and Czechoslovak Television, in particular, will provide the same scope for views on building a new type of socialism with a human face [socialismus s lidskou tvari] as to the views of other political forces." Sedivy also expresses the view that the extraordinary CPCZ congress planned for 26 January 1990 ought to be brought forward and held "before this year is out."

On page 7, under the headline "How They Write About Us," RUDE PRAVO carries a 2,600-word roundup of correspondents' reports on foreign media reaction to the developments in Czechoslovakia. The roundup includes, inter alia, a 600-word report on a Moscow PRAVDA article by Stanislav Vtorushin, which criticized the policies of the previous CPCZ leadership and its attitude to the reform processes in other socialist countries and viewed the current changes in Czechoslovakia as "the first step toward dismantling the Stalinist system, which existed here in an intact state for long years." Further, the roundup includes a 250-word report on an interview which "former leading Czechoslovak politician" Cestmir Cisar gave to the Polish paper ZYCIE WARSZAWY, in which he called for roundtable talks in Czechoslovakia; a 200-word account of Soviet foreign ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh's comments on Czechoslovakia; a 50-word report on White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater's remark that "President Bush spoke with recognition about the courage and restraint of the Czechoslovak people, whose example is a source of inspiration for all free nations"; as well as a 200-word summary of Czechoslovak post-1948 emigre Pavel Tigrid's article on Czechoslovakia published in the 26 November issue of LE MONDE. RUDE PRAVO has not previously been observed to report on statements by Czechoslovak political emigres or opposition figures in foreign media.

On page 8, RUDE PRAVO carries a 900-word CTK report on a news conference with Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, held in Prague on 27 November. The report cites Kucera's and other socialist party leaders' remarks about the party's proposals for reforming Czechoslovakia's political system and about the growing number of socialist party members.

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries a 300-word "jc, mu"-signed report on an "aktiv of Bratislava Communists" held in the Slovak capital on 27 November. The RUDE PRAVO report mentions that "in a very frank discussion the demand was raised that those who have compromised the party, are responsible for the present situation, and have led society into crisis depart from the CPCZ Central Committee and the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee—Comrades Salgovic, Hruskovic, Bilak, Lenart, Slapka, and others." Participants in the aktiv are said to have demanded also the resignation of the Bratislava CPSL City Committee because it "assumed a wait-and-see, defensive, and, therefore, politically erroneous stand on the current situation."

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO carries a 200-word report on a statement issued by the CPCZ primary organization of the Czech Writers' Association. The statement attributes the current "crisis situation in the whole society" to the "long-term detachment of the party leadership from rank-and-file party members" and the people in general. It also demands that the clause on the party's leading role be deleted from the Constitution, that the "fateful mistakes from the years 1968-69 and from the subsequent period be assessed," and that an extraordinary congress of the Czech Writers' Association be convened "without delay." Furthermore, the statement "appeals" to writers who have been expelled from the party "to cooperate in the interest of the renewal of the party and socialism." Also on page 8, RUDE PRAVO carries a 300-word report a 27 November session of the CSSR Committee of Church and Religious Officials, which notes, inter alia, the church officials' criticism of the fact that "church representatives had not been invited" to participate in the drafting of new church laws. Finally, also on page 8, RUDE PRAVO carries a 120-word report on the work of a "coordinating preparatory committee of the Greens' Party," which has already collected 15,000 signatures and is now drafting the party's "program of action." Besides environmental issues, the party reportedly "wants to deal with social, economic, and political issues that are inseparably linked with ecology."

Besides materials that are identical with RUDE PRAVO items, have been filed from other sources, or have been filed separately, Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 28 November publishes the following items related to the latest domestic political events: On pages 1 and 3, under the headline "A Single Huge Pedestrian Zone," it carries a 3,000-word roundup of correspondents' reports on strikes, meetings, and demonstrations held in various parts of the country the preceding day. In contrast to PRAVDA's previous coverage, the general strike is portrayed favorably: PRAVDA's correspondents emphasize the strikers' "disciplined behavior" and the fact that their aim was not to disrupt the economy but to enforce changes in the "political and economic guidance of our society." Several cases of strikers are cited who intend to work special shifts to make up for the production shortfall. On page 4, PRAVDA also carries a large photograph of striking students cleaning the streets of Bratislava and lawns along the banks of the Danube. On the other hand, PRAVDA's correspondents are critical of the "euphoria" displayed at the mass demonstrations, stressing that "solutions cannot be sought in public squares but at negotiations."

On page 3, Bratislava PRAVDA also publishes the 250-word statement adopted at the aktiv of Bratislava Communists the preceding day. The statement includes a proposal for the "immediate resignation of the Presidium and Secretariat of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee," the "demand for an extraordinary CPCZ Congress on 5 and 6 December 1989 to elect a new CPCZ Central Committee and approve a program of action until the 18th CPCZ Congress," the "recommendation" that a date be set for "free elections," as well as the "expression of nonconfidence in the Presidium of the Bratislava CPSL Central Committee" and the proposal to hold a Bratislava party plenum on 29 November to "resolve fundamental cadre issues." Demands for an extraordinary CPCZ congress this year, for the resignation of the CPCZ and CPSL Central Committees, and for the "political, social, and professional rehabilitation" of people who were "unjustly punished after 1968" are also raised in many of the statements and resolutions which PRAVDA publishes on page 3.

A statement by a CPSL primary organization in the PRAVDA publishing enterprise also demands that the chief editors of RUDE PRAVO and Bratislava PRAVDA be elected "from the ranks of their editorial teams." A statement issued by the staff of the House of Slovak Culture in Prague advocates the "deepening of dialogue by means of a roundtable to be attended by all segments of Czechoslovak society as equal partners," the "consistent rehabilitation" of the victims of the political trials of the fifties, the "abolition of the nomenklatura of cadres in filling political and economic posts and the creation of a system of logical selection," as well as "a fundamental change in the official attitude to ethnic Czechs and Slovaks living under different social conditions." Czechs and Slovaks living abroad "should not be seen as enemies but as a constituent part of our nations and their history," the statement says. The demand for the abolition of the nomenklatura system is also voiced by Jan Beno, artist of merit: "The nomenklatura procedures do not allow people who are not in the present central nomenklatura to get to the highest party posts, which, naturally, greatly limits possibilities. I think that the right and wise people who are not compromised are often, and mostly, to be found at lower levels."

On page 4, PRAVDA carries a 1,300-word article by Peter Weiss, candidate of sciences, researcher at the CPSL Central Committee Institute of Marxism-

Leninism, entitled "Without Illusions." The article blames the party's current crisis on "deformations" of internal party democracy, which are responsible for the fact that the "leading party bodies are short of informal authorities, genuine political leaders capable of convincing and winning others and engaging in discussion, people who are essential for the party in the conditions of social crisis and struggle for power." On page 5, Bratislava PRAVDA carries a 600-word interview with Hungarian philosopher Gyozo Szerenyi by Vojtech Vesely, in which he objects to Hungarian media claims that "people in the CSSR want the same things as those being implemented in Hungary," saying that he rather sees parallels with developments in the GDR.

People's Chamber Amends Constitution

LD0112112589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1118 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber today in Berlin approved an amendment to Article 1 of the national Constitution (leading role of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany).

Article 1 Changed

LD0112121189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1135 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Article 1 of the GDR Constitution, which was altered by the People's Chamber, now reads as follows:

The GDR is a socialist state of workers and peasants. It is the political organization of the working people in the towns and country.

The GDR capital is Berlin. The GDR state flag consists of the colors black, red, and gold and has on both sides in the center the GDR state emblem.

The GDR state emblem consists of a hammer and compass, surrounded by a garland of corn, which is entwined in the lower half by a black-red-gold ribbon.

Draft Travel Law Presented to People's Chamber

LD0112132189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1206 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Before the GDR People's Chamber today, Interior Minister Lothar Ahrendt presented the draft travel law, which was made public on Tuesday [28 November]. He referred to Point 3 of the Agenda on the broad participation of the population in the drafting of the bill. The government commission dealing with it had received a total of 39,422 letters from citizens and 3,443 from collectives with a total 84,338 proposals up to 29 November.

The law would grant every GDR citizen the basic right to travel abroad at any time and acquire a passport for this purpose. He stated in this connection that no application or issuing of an exit visa is needed for travel abroad.

The interior minister then referred to further points of the draft law, which envisages allowing every citizen the right to acquire travel reserves. The People's Chamber should decide each year on the amount of travel reserves to be made available for the following year. In conclusion, the minister stressed that the temporary stipulations, under which a personal identity card with a visa or visa-equivalent authorization can be used for travel instead of a passport, will remain valid for a lengthy period. This was due to the fact that new passports cannot be issued immediately for all citizens.

Interior Minister Arendt answered numerous questions on the draft. People's Chamber President Maleuda pointed out that the document will be referred to the People's Chamber committees for further discussion.

6 New Members Named for People's Chamber

LD0112123789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1134 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber met in Berlin on Friday morning for its 13th session. At the beginning, the supreme popular representative body adopted a number of mandate changes. The following received the mandate of a deputy of the People's Chamber—on the application of the Democratic Peasants Party [DBD] group back-up candidate Roland Materna, on the application of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] group back-up candidate Regina Karpinski, on the application of the Free German Youth [FDJ] group the back-up candidates Kerstin Hugel and Mayk Plewka, on the application of the Cultural League Group the back-up candidate Dr Hannelore Vater, and on the application of the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] group the back-up candidate Rosemarie Goebbels.

With the admission of these deputies, former deputies Ernst Goldenbaum (DBD), Gerald Goetting (CDU), Uwe Lorenz and Franz Straube (FDJ), Werner Lorenz (Cultural league), and Heinrich Homann (NDPD) depart on the application of their respective groups. [passage omitted]

Krenz Comments on SED Corruption, Abuses

LD3011224989 East Berlin Television Service in German 1851 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Statement by Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and GDR State Council chairman, by unidentified GDR television correspondent at East Berlin House on 30 November—recorded]

[Text] I have learned about these facts [about corruption within the SED] with indignation, anger and shame. I have to say that abuse of authority and corruption are unworthy of any SED member, and we will thus see to it that all cases are uncovered. I have asked the GDR prosecutor general to get to the bottom of these affairs, since everyone is equal before the law, regardless of his function. In addition, I have urged the chairman of the Central Party Control Commission to restore party order as quickly as possible, because everyone, whatever his function may be, is obliged to act according to SED statutes. Any violation must entail immediate punishment.

I also used to live in Wandlitz, of course. As was common at the time, I considered it a matter of customary law. Today, my view has changed, but I also have to make it clear that neither in the past nor at present have I had my own hunting grounds; that neither in the past nor at present have I had a hunting cottage or a

hunting lodge; and that neither in the past nor at present have I had a so-called leisure facility. My privilege consisted of having an official flat. For this reason, I can approach the uncovering of these affairs with a pure and clear conscience and I assume that, even before the extraordinary SED Party congress, we will sufficiently clear them up for people to understand that the SED is not a corrupt party, that its thousands and thousands of members are not corrupt people, but that there have been just a few. It is in the interest of the SED membership that I have to reject most resolutely the abuse of authority and the corruption by some and now reported by the press.

People's Chamber Committee To Examine Abuses

LD2311135989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1424 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A temporary parliamentary committee for the investigation of cases of abuse of office, corruption, personal enrichment, and other matters where there is suspicion of violation of the law, was set up in Berlin today. This was agreed by the 12th People's Chamber session.

The press office of the People's Chamber told ADN that the committee, which includes members of all 10 party groups of the supreme people's representative body, elected Deputy Dr Heinrich Toeplitz (Christian Democratic Union [CDU] party group) as chairman and Deputies Prof Dr Volker Klemm (National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] party group), Claus-Dieter Knoefler (Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] party group), Gustav-Adolf Schur Socialist Unity of Germany [SED] party group), and Wilhelm Weissgerber (Democratic Peasants Party [DBD] party group) as deputy chairmen of the committee. The deputy general prosecuting attorney, Harry Harrland informed the deputies of the petitions, comments, and applications which fall under the responsibility of this committee.

The parliamentary body decided to commence its activities without delay.

Probe Starts

LD3011223289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1832 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—A thorough investigation into abuse of office and waste of people's property by the bodies responsible, the state prosecutor in particular, has already been started concerning the state and special hunting areas personally allocated to former members of the state and party leadership such as Honecker, Mittag, Stoph, Mielke, Tisch and G. Mueller. This emerges from a statement given to ADN by General Director of Forests Rudolf Ruethnick. The same action will be taken if similar abuse is discovered in other hunting grounds. [passage omitted]

Facilities Sealed

LD3011174389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1055 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Neubrandenburg (ADN)—Houses and facilities used by Erich Honecker, Guenther Kleiber, and Willi Stoph in the Waren district [kreis] (Neubrandenburg area [bezirk]) in the middle of former state hunting grounds have now been sealed up. That took place as a result of a decision by District Council Chairman Hartmut Boecker, in order to prevent the removal of objects from the buildings. The electricity supply from the public network for these buildings has also been reduced to a minimum. This as reported today by the Waren local page of the FREI ERDE paper. [passage omitted]

New Forum Files Suit Against Honecker, Others

LD3011180489 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] The New Forum and the chairman of the Council of Waren district [kreis] have instituted legal proceedings against Erich Honecker, Willi Stoph, and Guenther Kleiber. Investigations concerning disloyalty to the disadvantage of socialist property are to begin in connection with their hunting lodges. The Institute for Landscape Research and Protection of Nature in Halle has proposed to turn the area on the eastern shore of Lake Mueritz into the GDR's first national park and to turn Stoph's residence into a research center.

Security Chief Says Honecker 'Broken Man'

LD2911110989 Hamburg DPA in German 0746 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The ousted former GDR state and party leader Erich Honecker is "a broken man", according to his long-serving security chief Guenter Wolf. In an interview published on Wednesday with the trade union newspaper TRIBUENE, the head of the personal protection department in the Office of National Security said: "He is so ill that at present he cannot appear in public." Honecker is following what is going on outside his present home in the wooded area of Wandlitz, but this is not always good for him. "It is difficult for him to grasp everything," Wolf said.

Wolf says that in the course of the next year Honecker will move out of the Wandlitz area, where public figures live. This is at his personal request. The new Socialist Unity Party of Germany leader Egon Krenz is in telephone contact with Honecker. He has also visited him in Wandlitz. Krenz moved from Wandlitz to Pankow only recently.

Wolf went on to say that the strictly guarded residential area cost several hundred thousand marks annually. He said there have never been festivities there. Everyone has led his own life. When asked whether this was not a very

joyless existence, Wolf replied that this was due to incorrect ideas about security issues.

Government Spokesman Discusses Issues

LD3011202289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1640 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—In a statement, the GDR Council of Ministers has given its full support to the appeal by well-known public figures from politics, science, art and culture, the economy, and from church circles, entitled "for our country." [passage omitted]

As the spokesman announced, the press office of the chairman of the Council of Minister has changed its name to the GDR Government's Press and Information Service. This institution will neither administer nor control. In this context, Meyer pointed out the personal responsibility of all state administrators and all ministers to completely fulfill their obligation to inform the public.

The government spokesman gave a reaction to the commentary in the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany newspaper DER MORGEN on the publishing of the new draft travel law. This representation was wrong and was completely devoid of journalistic care and responsibility. ADN and a West Berlin journalist told him almost simultaneously on Tuesday that the BILD newspaper had already put out an advance report. The GDR's supreme elected body was responsible for the publishing of the draft law approved by the Council of Ministers and handed it over to the People's Chamber. According to his information, this was planned for Friday with the start of the first reading. After conferring with People's Chamber President Maleuda, and with agreement of the Presidium of the People's Chamber, ADN was tasked with immediate publication, which was not possible, however, until after some newspapers' deadline. If DER MORGEN had researched this it would have found out the true facts.

With regard to the accusation that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] completely dominates the media, Meyer said that they have resolutely put a stop to making the three state media—ADN, television, and radio—instruments of the SED. They are subordinate to the chairman of the Council of Ministers alone, and no one from outside has the right to give them instructions or treat the journalists working there like children.

The government has decided to change the decree and implementation stipulations on the activity of foreign publications and journalists so that their work in the GDR can be guaranteed in line with international obligations. The new, short decree will come into force next week when it is published in the legal gazette.

The spokesman announced that it has further been decided to import 500,000 tonnes of feed grain for around 160 million valuta marks to compensate for considerable harvest shortfalls because of the dry summer. He also announced the establishment of a youth and sport office in the Council of Ministers, chaired by Dr Wilfried Possner.

In connection with the new realities on the GDR state border the security devices and border zones have been scrapped, and patrol strips have been set up in which villages, built-up areas, enterprises and institutions have been spared. At present there are 98 border-crossing points with the FRG and Berlin (West), and the opening of further points will take place exclusively at the behest of the Council of Ministers.

Dr Peter Moreth, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers for local state bodies, has been appointed head of the government commission for the development of the City of Leipzig. A decision to disband a government squadron equipped with 15 aircraft was also announced. It is the genuine intention of the new government to scrap privileges and similar things, and not permit them in the future.

Guenther Arndt, first deputy chief of the GDR customs authority, stated that from 9-27 November 1989 around 16.9 million GDR citizens and 2.4 million vehicles crossed the border-crossing points in the direction of the FRG and Berlin (West). Objects found and confiscated at border checks are being handed over to trading bodies, children's institutions, trade organizations, shops selling subsidized meat, and the state treasury. The financial proceeds resulting from this go into the state budget.

Transport Minister Heinrich Scholz announced that since 11 November 1,600 special trains have been laid on, some of which are filled to capacity by up to 300 percent and more. However, at this time of the year it is important to give priority to freight traffic and fuels, which has not always been possible under these conditions. The present weather has also contributed to an increase in the bottlenecks of freight trains. The complex situation on the oversubscribed railways of the republic requires maximum performances from all the deployed forces.

In response to a relevant question about travel, Scholz referred to plans to put into service seven train services between GDR cities and West Berlin railway stations on weekends starting 2 December. He mentioned as possible examples Magdeburg-Spandau, Leipzig or Halle-Wannsee and Dresden-Charlottenburg. On weekdays he envisaged four such train services.

Asked whether the GDR Government has discussed the developments in the CSSR, and has issued a statement on the invasion of the Warsaw Pact troops in 1968, the government spokesman said that this has not been under discussion at the Council of Ministers session. It can be assumed from the remarks by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Civic Forum that a political consensus is being sought. From its own experiences the GDR welcomes the non-violent atmosphere, which is a basic precondition for a dialogue of this type.

Regarding the CSSR invasion, he referred to the joint resolution by five Warsaw Pact member states of August 1968. In his view it is, however, a fact that the then-concept of security policy of these states was placed over and above universally applicable international law. "This can no longer be justified from today's standpoint, and must be regretted," said Meyer. The principles of "noninterference in internal affairs, equal rights, and respect for the sovereignty of states" must be binding for all states and also for the aliance system, and apply without restrictions. "Threats and use of force are impermissible," said Meyer.

Official Says Invasion of CSSR 'Unjustifiable'

LD3011170889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1531 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer has stated in connection with the Warsaw Pact military intervention in 1968 in the CSSR that it was "unjustifiable from today's viewpoint." At a government news conference on Thursday in Berlin he alluded, at the same time, to the world political background of the decision at that time.

There is complete agreement with USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze that the decision by leading Warsaw Pact figures at that time on the sending of armed forces into the CSSR was made jointly and that it could therefore only be changed by a joint decision.

He added: "It is a fact, however, that the concept at that time of security policy and the internationalism of the Warsaw Pact stood above fundamental principles of international law. This attitude is not justifiable from the present viewpoint and must be regretted. The principles of nonintervention in internal affairs, of equality and respect for the sovereignty of states must be binding for all states and also for their alliance systems and must be valid in an unrestricted way. The threat and use of force is not permitted."

On behalf of the government, at whose session today the CSSR was not, however, on the agenda, Meyer greeted the fact that both sides in Prague—government and citizens' forum—have spoken in support of a nonviolent solution. The GDR is aware of its own experiences when it understands this attitude as a basic precondition for dialogues. "I may also say that we are convinced that new developments in our two states will open up without doubt new possibilities for the consolidation and expansion of relations."

Ministers' Statement on Reunification

LD3011190989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1713 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Government Spokesman Wolfgang Meyer today read out the following GDR Council of Ministers' statement at the start of the international news conference in Berlin.

The statement for our country supported by prominent personalities from politics and academia, art and culture, the economy and church circles has the complete approval of the GDR Government. The Council of Ministers sees this appeal as a point of view characterized by great civic responsibility which represents a clear profession of commitment to an independent socialist fatherland on German soil.

The government sees itself in complete agreement with the vast majority of our country's citizens in fashioning a socialism in the GDR which appeals to people on the basis of the process of renewal started in all areas of society. The government feels strengthened by this appeal which expressed the opinion that a reunification of the two German states which moves toward our country being swallowed up is not on the agenda and contradicts the will and wishes of broad sections of the population.

Above and beyond this it was pointed out that it is broadly recognized internationally that the existence of two German states is a decisive basis for peace and stability in Europe. A prerequisite for maintaining the GDR's independence is an economy which is capable of functioning and the mastery of a multiplicity of economic issues.

The basic orientation for a reform of the economy, in which raising the efficiency of the national economy must be tackled, is laid out in the government statement by Hans Modrow. There will be a step-by-step approach to fulfilling it. Above and beyond this a variety of issues which have to be mastered now and in the coming days and weeks are on the agenda to create the necessary prerequisites for keeping our country's economy capable of functioning and further advancing it.

At this hour the GDR Council of Ministers appeals to all working people in our country to mobilize their forces for the highest possible achievements in all areas of the national economy so that every combine, every enterprise and every institution makes an effective contribution to the 1989 National Economic Plan, even under the current complicated conditions.

It is of paramount significance to organize cooperative relations, mainly in making raw materials, material and spare parts available in accordance with contracts entered into; here, the transport side of freight and passenger traffic takes on particular importance. The currently tense situation in this area requires the deployment of all available means and forces in the transport sector and close coooperation between all those involved in transportation.

It is important, and the last few days have shown this, to create material and organizational conditions everywhere so that our country's national economy functions even in winter conditions.

Together we must do everything to guarantee the stable provision of the national economy and the population with energy and fuel.

The government appeals to all social forces to be prepared to mobilize further forces and means to meet national economic requirements in the event of exceptional winter conditions and if necessary to redistribute exisiting resources in accordance with requirements and to give mutual support.

The Council of Ministers will pay particular attention to guaranteeing supplies to the population with a view to the coming holidays. In this we are building on the high commitment of employees in the trade sector which has proven itself many times in the past. They will certainly continue to do everything they possibly can to make consumer goods available in the shops quickly and thereby secure a good range. Here they will be supported by the rules laid down on 23 November this year on stopping speculative purchases. First estimates show that these measures have contributed to calming the situation and have met with approval among the population and sales staff. All enterprises are called on to make their specific contribution to supplying the population by the complete fulfillment of contractually agreed supplies of goods to the trade sector.

Modrow Comments on Confederative Cooperation

LD3011225489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1916 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—In the view of Second German Television [ZDF] the GDR Council of Ministers' agenda today was dominated by the question of how the GDR Government assesses the offer from Bonn of confederative cooperation between the two German states following closer examination. The prime minister said the following to ZDF in this respect:

"For me it is important that my offer of a treaty-based community has been accepted. I think that this would be an area which can be first fleshed out together and could be a basis for further reflection."

However, he assumed that without having a common platform there would be no point in looking into the distant future since the latter has to begin somewhere. "And in that respect I am optimistic that Herr Kohl has made an offer from which we can proceed."

Modrow answered in the affirmative to the question whether it is his opinon that the two German states have taken one step or even several steps toward each other.

CDU Welcomes 'For Our Country' Appeal

LD3012235589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2044 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The "For Our Country" appeal which personages from the GDR handed over to the public on 28 November is welcomed by Lothar de Maiziere, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], CDU Press Spokesman Karl Henning stated in a release handed to ADN. The party chairman paid tribute to it as a sign of hope that people who represent differing political points of view speak with one voice when it is a matter of our state's existence and the democratic renewal of our society.

All CDU members who felt able to make the statements in the appeal their own were asked to announce this by signing.

The press spokesman's statement goes on to say: Reactions from CDU members also contain critical questions about the appeal. The impression is given in the preamble that Stalinism in the GDR has already been mastered. CDU members also think that it should be recognized that overcoming the crisis in the GDR places the two German states in a particular community based on responsibility for the future coexistence of the nations of Europe. This meant recognizing that the way out of the crisis above all contained economic cooperation with the FRG.

Letter to Kohl Opposes 'Political Support'

LD2411145389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1719 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Shop stewards [local trade union leaders] meeting at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin sent an open letter to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Details were made available to ADN today. "We have been observing your work for democracy in the GDR, and hear your call for free elections in our country, upon which you wish to make economic cooperation dependent, with increasing annoyance.

The people of the GDR have fought for their reforms themselves, and will continue to do so. We do not need any political support from your party or your government in the hard dialogue with our government and the SED.

In their less-than-happy history, the German people have experienced political change, mainly from above or from outside. This includes the Stalinist form of socialism in the GDR after 1945, behind which Soviet tanks stood, as much as parliamentary democracy in the Federal Republic, which was eased in with the silver spoon of the Marshall Plan. Today, there is no doubt about the Federal Republic's economic superiority, but we reject the federal chancellor placing himself at the head of a movement which has arisen from the courage and political maturity of our country's people.

We have nothing against you, Mr Federal Chancellor, taking to the streets for free elections, but we do not want to see you among the fellow travellers of our reform movement. We have enough of those in our own country. What kind of free elections are they supposed to

be which are bought with the Federal Republic's money? People here are quite capable of demanding free elections without pressure from the West.

With best wishes for your difficult job in your country."

Modrow Advocates 4-Power Conference on Germany

AU2611151789 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 25-26 Nov 89 p 2

[Interview with Premier Hans Modrow by DER STANDARD Correspondent Werner Stanzl in East Berlin; date not given: "Modrow Advocates Four-Power Conference]

[Text] On the sidelines of Chancellor Franz Vranitzky's official visit, GDR Premier Hans Modrow has answered fundamental questions on the current changes between the Elbe and Oder Rivers. His answers allow us to take an look into the future of the country from the point of view of the new leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED].

DER STANDARD: Mr Premier, Wolfgang Herger, member of the SED Politburo, said in a discussion that in this situation it is the SED's task to connect socialism and democracy. Is the SED going to be modified into a social democratic party?

Modrow: This question will be answered at our special party congress in December where we will have to make initial important decisions on the future course of my party.

DER STANDARD: Yet, the same Politburo member has also said that socialist realism is dead. Is this not a clear announcement of such a development?

Modrow: There are of course very vigorous movements within my party whose ideas point toward a social democratic concept. However, the final decision will be made by the majority at the party congress.

DER STANDARD: Do you exclude that the supporters of social democratic concepts will eventually gain a majority, and can you imagine a social democratic SED?

Modrow: I do not exclude anything and I can imagine everything. The fact is that social democratic concepts are very popular at the moment.

DER STANDARD: Will the New Forum be able to run in the next elections?

Modrow: We are currently still working on the new election law. What is certain is that all democratic groups will be able to run in this election.

DER STANDARD: When do you think that these elections ought to be held?

Modrow: In the summer of 1990.

DER STANDARD: Mr Premier, SED politician Guenter Gaus proposed that a four-power conference be convened to solve the German question, in case the GDR is unable to cope with all its problems alone. Asked about this issue, Politburo Member Guenther Schabowski told us that the GDR state leadership ought to concede that it now starts out from the fact that it is and will be able to successfully deal with all problems posed by the challenge of reform, and that this is why it concentrates mainly on this issue. What do you think about the proposal of Guenter Gaus?

Modrow: I believe that we have to face this question—irrespective of whether our reforms are successful or not. Such a conference ought to be held to develop constructive concepts for the future of Germany and Europe. On the basis of Potsdam, this falls into the responsibility of the four powers. I regard this proposal as constructive.

DER STANDARD: According to surveys the SED would not become the strongest party if elections were to be held now.

Modrow: This is not yet the election day.

Order To Shoot Rescinded at Demonstrations

AU2911171389 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 29 Nov 89 p 4

[Interview with Thomas Rudolph, spokesman of the "Initiative for Peace and Human Rights" by Hans-Ruediger Karutz in Leipzig on 27 November: "They Were Cleaning the Kalashnikovs: There Was the Order to Shoot"]

[Text] DIE WELT: Again there are 200,000 people in Leipzig's streets: But in your country as well as in the West there is the fear that the power of the demonstrations diminishes because of the freedom of travel, which has been achieved through struggle....

Rudolph: The number of demonstrators has indeed declined slightly, but there are still far more than 100,000 every time. I think that even in the past the freedom of travel was not necessarily the top priority issue. As long as there is no democratization and no economic restructuring, I do not assume that the demonstrations will stop.

DIE WELT: Where do we stand in the reform process and to what extent has the change already been achieved? Does it not mostly consist of a policy of announcements so far?

Rudolph: Many things have been announced. One will have to wait and to look very closely to see what will happen and what the real results will be like. On the other hand, I do think that there are still forces in the GDR who want to make the reform process reversible and who are in conflict with the reform forces, in a harsh conflict. The special congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] will show how quickly and in which way the development will continue.

DIE WELT: There are still very different descriptions of 9 October in Leipzig—the order to shoot or not, Egon Krenz as a mediator or not. What was it really like?

Rudolph: Leipzig's new SED secretary, Roland Woetzel, has stated that the "appeal of the six"—with the support of Gewandhaus Orchestra Director Kurt Masur—only was a "small" contribution, the "big" contribution was made by the demonstrators themselves. On this 9 October our "initiative for Peace and Human Rights" also had unofficial contacts with authorities. The issue was the question to what extent can we guarantee how far the demonstration will go and whether it will remain peaceful. We guaranteed this—and, in my view, this was one of the basic conditions for other people in the upper echelons of decision-making being able to say that they have come to grips with the situation and for the fact that the military and guns were not used.

DIE WELT: Which was clearly imminent?

Rudolph: Yes, there is no question about this. Experts in the hospitals were asked to expect gunshot wounds. They were ordered to supply blood from blood banks and to staff all stations. On this day in Leipzig all children had to be picked up from nurseries and day care centers by 1500. In Bitterfeld and Oschatz, workers militia were ready and were cleaning their Kalashnikovs (Soviet machineguns—the editors). Since this happened in Halle Bezirk, it is clear that this was a central matter.

DIE WELT: According to your very extensive knowledge of the events in Leipzig, did any calming down of the situation go to the credit of Egon Krenz?

Rudolph: I think that the decision about rescinding the order to shoot in Leipzig on 9 October was made in contact among the highest-ranking responsible men—State Security Service, police, People's Army, SED security apparatus.... I think that it is of minor importance who rescinded the order in the end.

DIE WELT: The desolate state of the SED is very tangible: Which political force can actually lead the GDR until the promised free elections?

Rudolph: At the moment there is uncertainty—but I think that the resignation has been overcome. If the population really calls for reforms under the continuing slogan "we are the people," this is a sign that the time of resignation is over and that a new start is beginning. All those who are now dedicating themselves to the necessary reforms and really want them—in the economy, in the matter of a constitutional state—should meet.

DIE WELT: Thus, you welcome the idea of the roundtable?

Rudolph: Yes. However, this dialogue has to be held under equal conditions and in an honest way. This means, in detail: All political groups, which meet at this roundtable, have to be officially recognized first of all.... Furthermore, an amnesty for all political prisoners must be granted as a preconditions for this dialogue.

Modrow Denies Tanks Were on 'Standby' in Oct

LD3011174489 Hamburg DPA in German 1542 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow has denied that tanks were on standby in the demonstrations in Dresden in early October. In an interview with RIAS-TV, Modrow contradicted the chief mayor of Dresden, Wolfgang Berghofer, who had said in an interview with the GDR weekly SONNTAG that tanks had already taken position in Dresden during the unrest at the time. Modrow also underlined that there had been no order to shoot.

Modrow said that the critical period in Dresden had been the night from 3 to 4 October, when three trains from Prague with GDR refugees were on their way to the Federal Republic via Dresden. Even at that time, he had regarded as incomprehensible the decision by the then GDR leadership to take severe action against the demonstrators. From today's viewpoint it was even more incomprehensible.

An edited version of the interview was made available.

Lorenz Discusses Politburo Power Struggle

LD3011211289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1233 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—Under the headline "October Days in the Politburo," Politburo Member Siegfried Lorenz today portrays, in an interview in the Karl-Marz-Stadt Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] area newspaper FREIE PRESSE, the events and internal conflicts in the SED leadership over the past months. Until recently, many comrades of the old leadership had a perspective of things which completely bypassed the range and depth of the processes taking place in real life. They had hoped to get by with half-truths and cosmetic corrections.

"The start of the conflicts in the Politburo was the varied assessments of the wave of emigrants in August, and pressing critical demands from the grass roots. There was a group in the Politburo, represented in particular by Egon Krenz, and which I count myself part of, which demanded decisions on these matters." Before the republic's anniversary these problems were swept under the carpet by Erich Honecker, backed by others such as Guenter Mittag. When Erich Honecker was ill and Guenter Mittag headed the Politburo, there were intense conflicts, mostly created by Guenter Schabowski, Werner Krolikowski and himself [Lorenz]. "Given the ratio of power at that time, we could not force any decision. Guenter Mittag clearly prevented that in conjunction with Erich Honecker. They believed that they could get on top of the situation by administrative means, while we were calling for a political solution."

In the words of Siegfried Lorenz, Egon Krenz's attitude was that political conflicts must without fail be resolved by political means. This was the central point of a

dramatic meeting on 10-11 October. "We demanded an unequivocal statement which recognized the crisis situation in the country and emphasized the necessity of political solutions. The draft submitted by Egon Krenz was at first rejected by Erich Honecker on the grounds that it involved a split in the leadership. This attitude was supported most strongly by Guenter Mittag and Joachim Herrmann, while others took an irresolute viewpoint."

"The pressure and the arguments from the grass roots which we brought into the harsh conflict were ultimately decisive for the published statement. This was essentially only a beginning. However, as a result of the irresponsible stubbornness we have lost a huge amount of time and ability to act. Those mainly responsible for the old ways had to be removed, and the conflict on this lasted an entire day before the decision on Erich Honecker, Guenter Mittag and Joachim Herrmann was taken." Earlier, the ex-general secretary accused Efgon Krenz of dividing the leadership by his initiative.

In response to the FREIE PRESSE question of how he himself had felt personally, Siegfried Lorenz answered: "In order not to jeopardize the argument, the unity and unanimity of the party leadership, Egon Krenz, myself and other comrades refrained from seeking decisions on fundamental questions at a much earlier stage. In retrospect, that was clearly a mistake... Of course, the unity of the party is essential, but we should never again allow this vital principle of unity to be abused to ensure submissiveness to any one person or group of persons. Critism and self-criticism must once again be among the basic norms of our party." This revelation did not come to him overnight; but the contradiction between his expectations of the work in the Politburo and the experience he had, increasingly, of suppressing problems, glossing things over, postponing decisions, and half-truths, had become ever greater. Moreover, the majority of the Politburo members were deliberately misinformed about the true economic situation by Guenter Mittag.

Siegfried Lorenz described the demand for guarantees that abuse of power and leadership weakness can not again lead to such a situation in the country, as a central issue of the extraordinary SED party congress. There should be a thorough and honest analysis of the causes, mistakes, and shortcomings. "This is the only way we can achieve a far-reaching renewal, a new beginning, and a new Central Committee which has the trust of the delegates and thus of the members."

Secret Tape of 23-24 Oct SED Session

AU2911175589 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 28 Nov 89 p 4

[Excerpts from secret tape of 23-24 October SED session: "The SED Maintains Its Leading Role, Krenz Says—and Everybody Applauds"]

[Text] The contents of the secret complete tape recording of the debate of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] on 23-24 October prior to Egon Krenz's election as head of state gives rise to doubts as to the SED leadership's specific intention of giving up its leading role in the country, which was officially announced by Krenz during the weekend. DIE WELT has received a transcript of this tape. According to this protocol, Krenz stated that the SED must fulfill its leading role in a better way, but "we are not willing to give it up." The transcript is not authorized but it seems to be authentic and played an important role in the conflict between Politburo member Guenter Schabowski and church leader Manfred Stolpe over the SED's attempt to prevent a church conference on the police excesses on 23 October. DIE WELT publishes excerpts from the tape.

SED's Leading Role

Egon Krenz also intervenes in the debate at the end of the session of the SED group (127 deputies): "...It is not easy to assume such a responsibility at this difficult time. I assume it in the full awareness that I serve my party in this way. If my party has confidence in me, I am willing to give everything I am capable of giving. This is one thing. Now a second thing: Comrades, I am really in favor of bringing about the changes that we adopted at the Central Committee session. These changes mean that we need democracy, socialist democracy, in the same way as we need air to breath (quoting Gorbachev, who, however, did not add the word "socialist"—the editors) We also need dialogue with everybody. This is uncontested, and I support this standpoint."

Subsequently Krenz, apparently referring to attacks on Ulbricht and Honecker, broaches reservations against his person: "However, there are also historic parallels and historic experiences that we should not forget. I am not speaking about myself, I have only been general secretary of our party for a week. However, in general, attacks on our party's general secretaries were also attacks on our party during the past 30-40 years."

Then follows the decisive Krenz statement concerning the credibility of the SED's renunciation of its leading role in the GDR. "Comrades, he who forgets this sees only half of the truth, and I think that there should be agreement on this issue: We must fulfill our leading role in a better way, but we are not willing to give it up." The transcript notes "applause" at this point.

Police Excesses

One of the central points of the debate is as to how the attacks by GDR security organs on peaceful demonstrators on 7 and 8 October which provoked outrage worldwide are to be handled: The SED leadership expresses dissatisfaction at the way the events have been presented by the general state prosecutor so far. Politburo member Schabowski is the most clear-sighted among the leadership concerning the political consequences resulting from the slow elucidation of these excesses: "...We can tell each other what we want in this circle. This is not the

point. What we need is clear answers for the population... It is important how convincingly we can justify this election (Krenz's election—the editors) to the people... What we need is a policy and not a boost to our egos."

Schabowski praises the statement by Politburo member Wolfgang Herger (responsible for security—the editors) because it differs "significantly" from the statements made by the general state prosecutor: "They differ in the point where you, Wolfgang, said at the end of your statement that there have been excesses and that the excesses will be punished... This is a question that is important everywhere. We must prevent the man whom we have elected...from being systematically dismantled."

The Politburo member responsible for the media urges his comrades to make it clear to the public as soon as possible that the SED is active concerning this issue—a "preliminary end" to the investigations must be announced on the evening of Krenz's election at the latest. The following remark by Schabowski makes it clear what tactics the SED pursues in this connection. "Of course, the other things can be mentioned once more so that the impression is not created—this is political wisdom—that we only aim at one thing by accumulating other things, at suppressing things. In this way, we again show that we have a bad conscience, and we are not doing Egon a good service. This is the situation. This is the atmosphere."

Former Politburo member Kurt Hager also suggests—in vain: "...that a head of state be elected, that, after a break, Comrade Wolfang Herger present as a deputy the most essential things that he has presented here, and that the Peoples's Chamber gives instructions to the State and Legal Affairs Committee..." The prosecutor general "is no longer sufficient"...

However, Krenz rejects this at the end of the debate, revealing how carefully the SED considers every bit of information on such events: The election of the State Council chairman is a "solemn" event. Therefore, Herger should deliver his statement "at the first State Council session," and "careful deliberations must be made as to what will be published tomorrow so that the State Council has adopted, excuse me, dealt with this issue immediately after the People's Chamber. I do not think that it would be expedient to deal with this issue here. This would be no good and trigger a long discussion which we need, but not today..."

"Reward" for Honecker

It can be seen from the protocol that the SED group was in agreement to officially honor the dethroned predecessor of Krenz, Erich Honecker. A corresponding proposal was made by then People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann. One of the comrades remarked: "I think that it is not necessary for Comrade Sindermann to urge us to pay tribute to Erich Honecker. We are all waiting for this." The speaker is wondering "whether the illness must be expressly stressed. However, I am very much in favor of an extensive celebration in honor of Honecker."

Children's Book To Support Krenz

The transcript notes "slight laughter" when a comrade suggests the re-publishing of the children's book "Egon Asserts Himself," which she hopes would have a beneficial effect among the population. "I do not know who else has read the book that was first published in 1962, and which is no longer available. There are certainly good reasons for this.... I still support this slogan, and the book should be re-edited today." In view of the cheerfulness that started to spread, the deputy stressed: "Yes, so that our children and grandchildren see what our Egon is like...."

A Woman Instead of Krenz

The same deputy pleaded not to allow Krenz to assume all important state offices and to examine "whether a separation of powers is possible in such positions. The position of State Council chairman could be assumed by a representative of our group, by a member of our party. We need not think of Manfred Gerlach or somebody else... Why should a woman not be elected as head of the State Council?... I am thinking of Brunhilde Hanke (former Potsdam mayor—the editors), Helga Labs, Johanna Toepfer (former deputy of the head of the Free German Trade Union Federation, Harry Tisch—the editors)."

Insecurity Among the Party

A deputy from Leipzig ("I come with a very heavy rucksack") describes the insecurity of SED officials at the local level: "I have been confronted with allegations of incredibility as a People's Chamber deputy." She said almost imploringly: "Comrades, we must not only say that we will do a lot in the future. We must announce specific measures. We must present data. We must be able to show more determination, and we need better arguments as deputies. We must have 3 days for our arguments. You must understand this. Give us the possibility." She has only had negative experiences recently when maintaining close contact with the voters, she reports: "I cannot tell you with what I was confronted during the past few days. I also received anonymous calls and threats of murder."

Another deputy agrees with her: "I am not visiting the churches in Berlin,...but I have been told that there are slogans on the walls calling for the Communists to be hanged, et cetera." The SED "is in favor of uniting (all state offices in the hands of Krenz—the editors) and for our continued leading role." She considers a woman as the head of state conceivable and advises the comrades to examine the question as to whether the power could be shared with others.

Finally, she sums up in a rather resigned way: "Maybe we should try to achieve something for our population

on the basis of this political wisdom because the opponent is here, trying to march against us from all directions."

"My God, my God," the protocol reports a backbencher as saying.

Academics, Officers Call for Military Reforms

LD2911185389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1652 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Six well-known GDR peace researchers favor military reforms in the GDR. A statement conveyed to ADN today underlines that this should be linked with the already introduced reduction and restructuring of the National People's Army (NVA) toward a defensive character. "If the character of our society is radically democratized then our armed forces must change equally radically. The military reform presupposes from the beginning openness and accepting the ideas of all the democratic parties and movements. [no closing quotemarks as received]

Essentially the aim must be to redefine the function of the NVA and its position in society. It must be an army of the entire people and its state, free of ties with a single political party and a single ideology. The peace researchers see the function of the NVA exclusively in making a contribution to ensuring the GDR's external security and preserving peace in Europe. In view of the opposing military blocs this is only possible within the framework of the Warsaw Pact.

The authors proceed on the basis that the GDR Armed Forces will be subordinate exclusively to the People's Chamber and the organs it forms and controls. [passage omitted]

The experts call for the preservation of the military service anchored in the Constitution as a democratic form of military peace preservation. However, in the event of drastic disarmament agreements between the East and West, they see a reduction of military service to 12 months as expedient. At the same time, they support the introduction of a constitutional right to alternative civilian military service, while taking social and civilian requirements into account. [passage omitted]

The statement is signed by Dr Klaus Benjowski, secretary of the Scientific Council for Peace Research of the Academy of Sciences; Professor Dr Bernhard Gonnermann, Humboldt University; Major General Prof Dr Rolf Lehmann and naval Captain Prof Dr Wolfgang Scheler, both of the Friedrich Engels Military Academy; Colonel Prof Dr Wilfried Schreiber, Wilhelm Pieck Military Policy College; and Dr Wolfgang Schwarz, GDR Institute of International Politics and Economy.

New Defense Minister Examines Goals

AU2911153289 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 22 Nov 89 p 3

[News conference by Minister of National Defense Admiral Theodor Hoffmann following a commanders' meeting in Berlin on 20 November: "A Defense Minister to Whom You Can Talk"]

[Text] [Question] Mr. Minister, when did you hear about your good luck?

[Hoffmann] It came as a surprise. I was called by the minister of national defense last Wednesday [15 November] when I was just instructing the chiefs and commanders who are assigned to me on their further work. He said that I should get into my car and come to the Ministry of National Defense. I got into my car and left unsuspectingly. Army General Kessler then told me that I had to meet the chairman of the National Defense Council in the afternoon for a talk. The chairman informed me about my future tasks.

I Know What a Sailor Talks About in the Lavatory

Well, I did not have much time to consider the proposal, and I think that in such a situation you do not take such a position out of military ambition, but I decided to face this responsibility. In doing so, I assumed that I could rely on a very good collective of deputy defense ministers as well as on the chiefs of the armed services. That was the starting point. Much is new to me, because I am an officer who started as a sailor 37 years ago, an officer who has never worked at the ministerial level, but who knows life in the forces, and who knows what a sailor talks about in the lavatory. I think that this is also very important.

[Question] In your address to the commanders, you discussed the desolate—if we may say so—state of the Armed Forces. How was such a development at all possible?

Assess the State of Affairs Realistically

[Hoffmann] I would not describe the state of the Armed Forces as desolate; however, I advocate a realistic assessment. I would also like to stress that the National People's Army [NVA] is part of our people and does not live in a vacuum. Whatever concerns the GDR citizens also concerns the NVA members. There is one more thing: The members of the Army, specifically the professional cadres, are worried that occasionally they meet with a hostile attitude, which they think is unjustified. That worries us very much. Nonetheless, their readiness to protect our country is considerable, as is their preparedness to help in our national economy wherever this is necessary—and they are even doing so on their days off and without pay. This is an experience from my time in office as chief of the People's Navy.

[Question] In the government statement of the new prime minister, the possibility of a civilian substitute service is mentioned. Are there any concrete ideas in this respect?

[Hoffmann] For the defense minister, the government statement is the starting point of his whole work. That is the basis on which we organize our work. I can state here that we have already worked out a proposal for the civilian substitute service. It will be submitted to the People's Chamber for resolution very soon.

Use the Experiences of Others

Then commissions will have to be founded in the kreises, which will decide on who will do civilian substitute service. It is not possible at this point to define the percentage of those who will do this service. We expect about 85 percent of the young men to do basic military service or military service for a specific period of time. Time will tell.

[Question] What time schedule to you envisage regarding the democratization process and reforming our Army?

[Hoffmann] The concept of military reform will be worked out in December. Then it can be discussed by the public, before the reform program is given definite shape. This program will contain short-term measures, and the main part will be defined by the end of 1990, after the training year has been concluded. Then the Army will be restructured. In doing so, we must not act rashly; everything must be well considered. Nonetheless, we must act quickly.

Regarding democratization, I would say that the principle of individual leadership of the Army and the units on the basis of collective discussions will remain. That has proved successful, as have many official decrees and commands. However, they must be discussed with those who have to fulfill them. I believe that life in the Army will be oriented at the development of democracy in our country. Everybody is called upon to turn toward man.

[Question] You stressed that military reform will be publicly discussed. How about the GDR's military doctrine?

[Hoffmann] Military doctrine will be submitted for discussion to the People's Chamber very soon, as will problems of military legislation and disarmament. If we assume that the Vienna negotiations will be crowned with success, our highest people's representation must think about what the servicemen resigning from active military service will do. Decisions are necessary in this respect.

[Question] In connection with the military reform, how will cooperation of the units with the respective territory develop?

[Hoffmann] In my view, it is necessary to raise this cooperation to a higher level. I propose achieving agreement on a local level, defining the NVA's possible contribution to the development of the respective territory. I mean by this also a better utilization of NVA facilities by the citizens.

I can say from my former work that I have good experiences regarding cooperation with combines that have to do with merchant shipping, or cooperation with the maritime office; I will use my experience for my new office. By the way, this will also help strengthen the relationship between the people and the Army.

[Question] At the commanders' meeting, the possibility of extending the annual leave for soldiers in basic military service was discussed. Could you tell us anything concrete in this respect? Is the NVA possibly also considering a reduction in basic military service?

A Reduction in Military Service Depends on the Vienna Negotiations

The possibility of reducing military service depends on the continuation of the Vienna negotiations and on the number of men who are ready to do military service. We will study such a reduction; however, it would be too early yet to definitely say, "Yes, we are going to reduce." I can say that a reduction has been carried out in the People's Navy. In the past, it had different periods of service than the NVA. Now they have been adjusted. Now means as of 1990. I cannot say anything about changes regarding annual leave.

[Question] Regarding disarmament, how do you view the state of disarmament efforts, and how will they continue in 1990?

[Hoffmann] Our Armed Forces are absolutely fulfilling the plan regarding disarmament measures. They will be concluded by the end of November 1990. There will be more reductions. Meanwhile, we also hear that the FRG and the United States have announced considerable reductions. That makes us optimistic. However, no concrete steps have been taken.

[Question] Are you interested in holding talks with FRG Defense Minister Stoltenberg?

[Hoffmann] Of course, I am. However, I must say in this respect that an offer for talks was made by our side. As you know, my predecessor stated his readiness to organize a meeting here or there. I state very clearly: The offer is still valid.

[Question] Does that mean that you are waiting?

[Hoffmann] I have been in office for only a few days. Why do you not ask me this question in a week from now....

Almost Everybody May Travel

[Question] GDR citizens have been allowed since a few days ago to travel to the West unhindered. Does that also hold true for servicemen?

[Hoffmann] Everybody may travel, including soldiers in basic military service. Only those who are in charge of special secrets cannot travel. That is so in every army.

[Question] With what travel document can servicemen go to the West, with the military identity card?

[Hoffmann] No, every serviceman can get his personal identity card and can get a visa.

[Question] Do you have any problems with the formulation "world without weapons" or "peace without weapons"?

[Hoffmann] No, I would not have any problems with this formulation. However, that depends not only on us.

[Question] Regarding the reform of political education, are there any plans to give parties outside the SED more leeway of action than they have had in the past?

[Hoffmann] Basically, there have never been any restrictions. All parties have the same right to work in our country. For instance, shortly before I entered office in the Ministry, I received the Rostock Bezirk leadership of the National Democratic Party of Germany at our officers' college.

We discussed the military-political situation, and the guests made themselves familiar with the officers' training. We continue to be open to such examples. It is also conceivable that members—no matter of what party—get together at regular meetings in their units.

[Question] A question on terminology: So far, there has always been talk about the SED's military policy; now you are talking about the GDR's military policy. What does that mean?

[Hoffmann] You have rightly noted that the terminology has also changed. In this case, every party pursues its military policy. The SED is doing so, too. However, as the ministry, we fulfill our tasks on the basis of the GDR's military policy. Therefore, I must stress once again that we orient ourselves by the government statement and nothing else. I am only accountable to my prime minister and to the People's Chamber.

[Question] We had considerable difficulty in the past in using certain terms. Do we speak about the reform of the Armed Forces or about military reform?

[Hoffmann] The only important thing will be the substance. Military reform is perhaps not a bad term, considering the military reformers in history, such as those of the wars of liberation.

[Question] You said that it would be necessary to use science to a larger extent, to take scientific know-how more into account and to implement it, and to think about alternative solutions. Does that mean that scientific work has not been considered sufficiently?

Use Scientific Papers to a Larger Extent

[Hoffmann] What I mean is that the many scientific papers and theses should not be locked away in drawers but should be filled with life.

We have a major offer from scientists, which I want to make use of. In this respect, we should not only approach the military but also civilian scientists.

[Question] Peace researchers, for instance?

[Hoffmann] Yes, we do not intend to work out the military reform first, and ask scientists afterwards if it is good or bad. It must be the other way around.

[Question] Are you a friend of military parades?

[Hoffmann] Military parades entail a lot of work and expense. Strictly speaking, they have always been held for the people.

Parades Are Not Necessary

But I think that the chairman of the National Defense Committee and spokesman of the SED group in the People's Chamber, Wolfgang Herger, made clear statements on this issue in the People's Chamber session. I fully back his statements. Parades are not necessary for our self-representation. We will simply not hold such parades any more. Maybe every 10 years, like the fleet parades which have always appealed very much to the people. Be that as it may —I do not have to decide this; that is the state leadership's business.

[Question] You said in your speech that the Armed Forces will be open to the people. What does that mean?

Meetings To Get Acquainted

[Hoffmann] It may mean a lot, including explaining military policy, opening the gates of the barracks to create possibilities of meetings to get acquainted with the soldiers' life and training, and possibly the common use of cultural and sports facilities for common leisure-time activities.

[Question] This opening of the Army certainly also includes the fact that the minister meets the press in an as unbureaucratic and relaxed way as he has done today....

[Hoffmann] I not only meet the press very unbureaucratically; I will also meet the members of the Army and the people very unbureaucratically. My doors will be open to anyone who wants to see me. I gave the head of my secretariat relevant instructions this morning. I want to be a defense minister to whom you can talk.

[Question] Will you visit the troops?

[Hoffmann] I will use my time in the best possible way to get acquainted with the troops. I plan to visit the border troops in the Berlin region on Thursday [23 November], because they were exposed to particular stress in the past. I want to acquaint myself further with their conditions of service and life, and I want to express my appreciation for the work they have done.

However, I am equally certain that I will not visit the People's Navy very soon, because I am sufficiently familiar with the Navy.

[Question] Prime Minister Modrow moved from Dresden to Berlin and is now temporarily living in the guest house of the Council of Ministers. Have you found an apartment here in Strausberg?

[Hoffmann] I am still looking for an apartment.

[Question] Who is dealing with your application?

[Hoffmann] The housing administration of the National People's Army. For the time being, I still live in Rostock, and here in Strausberg I have also been put into a guest house.

By the way, I am very much a family man, and I attach considerable importance to moving soon. Whether that will be the case before Christmas, I do not know at this point. Currently, I do not think it is bad that my family is not here, because I have to make myself familiar with so many things.

Youth Organizations Hold Berlin Roundtable

LD0112044789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1904 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Members of existing and emerging youth organizations and numerous interested young people met in Berlin this evening for an initial roundtable talk. The discussion, staged by the first secretary of the Free German Youth Central Council, Frank Tuerkowsky, was attended by representatives of the Christian-Democratic Youth (CDJ), the "Democratic Awakening", the Young-Liberal Action (JuliA), the Social Democratic Party, and the executive of the Democratic Peasant Party of Germany, which called for the founding of a young agricultural workers' association. [passage omitted]

The aim of the talk is to reach a consensus about whether and on what basis they may continue to work together for the interests of young people, Frank Tuerkowsky told ADN before the talks began.

SED in Suhl Supports Roundtable Discussion

LD3011155689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1004 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Suhl (ADN)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] in the Suhl Bezirk sees itself in the future not as a workers' party, but as a party of the working people. This happened because it was a matter of completely rethinking the role of the intelligentsia, Suhl's first SED Bezirk secretary, Peter Pechauf, said to the press. As the topic of leadership had already long been overtaken by events, the party in the Bezirk intended shortly to sit down at a roundtable with all other partners in social renewal.

The SED has lost around 15 percent of its former 76,000 members in the bezirk recently, two-thirds of them workers. Reasons given for this by Pechauf were the loss of confidence among many upright comrades who have always acted with their entire personal commitment. It is precisely they who felt betrayed by the actions of members such as Honecker, Mittag, Albrecht (former SED head in Suhl), who were not representative of the party.

At the same time forces of the party are reforming, but in a spectrum ranging from communist leftist forces to social democratic directions. It is therefore a matter now of no longer worrying about one's own affairs but of creating, following the most rapid cleanup and analysis of mistakes, a concept for constructive, equal work.

Dresden Parliament Lets Groups Participate

LD2311230489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2058 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—From now on, the Dresden "Group of 20" and other grass-roots democratic citizens's initiatives will have the opportunity to participate regularly in the work of the local people's representation. They are also entitled to guest seats and the right to speak at all sessions of the city deputies' assembly; they will have an advisory capacity in all decisions and can nominate a speaker. The deputies of the city parliament resolved this today at the end of their 2-day plenum.

Other decisions by the people's representatives refer to the work of an independent investigatory commission to expose the violations of the law perpetrated by the protection and security authorities during the first days of October of this year.

In the future, the parliamentary groups there will work for more democratic resolutions in the city parliament, and the standing orders will be revised.

Talks in Magdeburg Discuss Prison Violence

LD2311232389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1627 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—Today representatives from all parties, the Evangelical and Catholic Churches as well as from the initiatives New Forum and the Magdeburg SDP [Social Democratic Party] bezirk [area] public prosecutor, Manfred Wagner, met for preliminary talks. They were thus responding to accusations made by someone released from prison who had reported in front of thousands of people from Magdeburg, during the talks on the Domplatz about the violence used against him by members of the penal system in a Halle detention center.

The bezirk public prosecutor guaranteed that this incident would be clarified completely.

The representatives from the parties, churches and the grass-roots democratic initiatives resolved to set up next week an "independent investigatory commission on unlawful prison conditions." A co-worker from the "contact office for citizens who were injured in connection with the events around October 7, 1989, by members of the GDR security authorities" handed over to the Bezirk Public Prosecutor's Office testimonial documentation. A further matter of concern of this commission will be to clear up the events in Magdeburg around 7 October. The Bezirk Public Prosecutor's Office has already started investigations into this.

SDP Founder Discusses Party's Role

AU2611193589 Vienna NEUE AZ in German 23 Nov 89 p 4

["Exclusive" interview with the founder of the Social Democratic Party, Steffen Reiche, by Michael Dym in Christinendorf, Zossen Kreis; date not given: "GDR Citizens Are Glad but not Grateful"]

[Text] NEUE AZ: Mr Reiche, how do you want me to address you, as comrade or pastor?

Reiche: Since you want to discuss politics with me, I would suggest as comrade.

NEUE AZ: You are not the only pastor who is committed to renewal. This is probably no coincidence.

Reiche: I am a pastor of the Reformed Church, and we are now aiming at reforming society. In our system, the pastors were the only ones who could speak freely as a result of the work they were doing. For this reason, we recently have become the spokesmen of the new movement. However, what we want is to pursue a social democratic and not a Christian democratic policy.

NEUE AZ: The Social Democratic Party [SDP] was founded on 7 October, on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. Was this a mere coincidence?

Reiche: The symbolism of the date was important for us. The crisis that has developed during 40 years of the existence of the GDR was also the result of the banning of the Social Democratic Party.

NEUE AZ: When did the GDR media report on the SDP for the first time?

Reiche: As far as I know, they still have not reported on it. They are apparently trying to ignore us. In an internal paper of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] we were described as the most dangerous opposition group.

NEUE AZ: What do the GDR citizens expect from your party?

Reiche: They link our name with a lot of tradition, a specific program, and, above all, with hope. We receive several thousand declarations for membership every week.

NEUE AZ: Are you not competing with the New Forum?

Reiche: It is certainly partly thanks to the New Forum that dialogue was initiated in the GDR. However, many people are rightly becoming impatient now. They call for clear political concepts and are turning to the parties. There are many who rightly criticize the New Forum. They are afraid that it will be undermined by the SED.

NEUE AZ: The SED does not allow double membership. In this way, does it not prevent important people from joining the new party?

Reiche: People will have to decide in the future. One reason for founding the SDP was prevent a secret renewal of the SED's policy.

NEUE AZ: Did you expect this development to take place so fast, maybe too fast?

Reiche: Nobody expected that. What has happened so far is only a beginning. This has been staged by the SED in order to win back sympathies. We are content that the GDR citizens have reacted in this way: They are glad but not grateful.

NEUE AZ: The most important restrictions have been removed now. What is the next point in your political program?

Reiche: The monopoly on leadership and power, which is laid down in the Constitution, must be eliminated. In addition, we call for the release of all political prisoners, the abolition of the political criminal law, and we advocate parliamentary elections in 1991.

Government Measures To Remove Red Tape

AU2511200389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Planning, Correlated Targeting, and Accounting Are Simpler Now"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—In evaluation of the 11th People's Chamber session, the government has decided on immediate measures to eliminate bureaucratic exaggerations in planning and reporting. The measures, which were set down in the decision, bring about tangible simplifications for the combines and enterprises as well as for the regions, particularly in the following fields:

—The number of central plan targets will be reduced by more than 50 percent. All plan targets, which concern the internal reproduction process of the combines and enterprises will no longer be set down centrally. This contributes to raising the directors general's and enterprise directors' own responsibility and reduces the amount of necessary administration.

—The central setting of plan targets for months and 10-day periods will be abolished. The planning for months and 10-day periods will be left to the directors general's own decision.

—Central correlated targeting will be concentrated to such raw materials, materials, equipment, and consumer goods, which are of decisive importance for safeguarding national economic proportions.

—The local people's representative bodies and their councils can decide in their own right about the total assets set down by the national economic plan and the state budget plan. This applies to investments, labor, and wage funds for the fields of housing management, local supplies, public education, local vocational training, the health and social sector, culture, youth, physical culture, and sports, the state apparatus, and other fields. The central specific allocation of energy sources to local sectors will be abolished. In the field of housing construction, the bezirk councils are to be given—together with the plan—the housing construction funds in general as well as guidelines for new construction and modernization.

—Essential simplifications will be enforced in planning and accounting of scientific-technological work, by abolishing renewal passports [erneuerungspass] and by concentrating the science and technology state plan on those tasks which are of essential importance for the entire national economic development.

—The central registration and accounting of the competitive pledges of the combines and enterprises will be abolished. Statistical reports, which are not necessary for state decisions, will be abolished. These include, among others, the accounting of financial targets by the first working day after the end of the month, which was based on estimates.

The Council of Ministers has ordered the responsible ministers and leaders of central state organs to quickly change or newly adopt the legal regulations that are affected by these decisions.

Editorial Calls for Dialogue Instead of Conflict

AU2511213389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Nov 89 p 2

[Gerd Prokot editorial: "In Dialogue, Minds Are Fighting, Not Fists"]

[Text] "Let us concede to each other the culture of dialogue"—this sentence was said at the protest demonstration of 500,000 people in Berlin's Alexanderplatz on 4 November. About 3 weeks later it has lost nothing of its topicality. To the contrary—as phenomena and trends have recently shown.

Other, worrisome tones can be heard in the revolution from above, for which hundreds of thousands again took to the streets in several GDR cities on Monday [20 November]. In addition to the calls for a renewal of socialism on the basis of democracy, for more far-reaching reforms, for the abolition of the claim to leadership by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], and for the abolition of privileges, calls can be heard to liquidate socialism and to sacrifice the GDR with all its achievements on the altar of reunification. Speakers, not only from the ranks of the SED, who advise reason and a sense of perspective, meet with increasing intolerance at the rallies. They are prevented from speaking, they are even threatened physically.

Foreign journalists were shocked about phenomena of hatred against foreigners. A student from Bahrain, for instance, was told in Leipzig: "If we see you again at the next demonstration, you will have a bald head or you will have been dyed blond by that time...." Foreign papers, such as DIE WELT, noted that the tone of the demonstrators is "becoming more aggressive." The paper cites GDR church circles, which "view" this development "with concern."

The above-mentioned examples may be individual cases, but it is necessary to nip things in the bud. Tirades full of hatred and appeals for violence discredit the concerns of the peaceful people's revolution, which is admired by all the world. This has nothing at all to do with the culture of conflict, which is supported by New Forum, as well as by other parties, groups, and associations.

The rules of dialogue, which we did not invent, include decency and mutual respect. Our party has repeatedly made clear that all political questions have to be solved by political means. However, from the very beginning there must not be any room for the development of neo-Nazism, racism, and character assassination. In this respect, all parties and movements, which influence the events of these days, have a high, common responsibility.

Dialogue has always been considered a "fight of minds, not of fists" (Luther) and has always had the respect of the opinion of those who think differently as a basic precondition. The culture of dialogue includes that one learns the art of listening to each other, which is not easy and, unfortunately, atrophied in our country; that no one believes to be the only one to possess the truth, but that truth emerges in the conflict of opinions, standpoints, and ideas.

Dialogue is only productive if it is conducted not for its own sake but with the goal of coming to an understanding about necessary changes. One should assume that one's partner also has this will; one should weigh ideas instead of judging precipitately.

"In drama," Meyer's New Lexicon says, "dialogue is the essential element; it advances the action and, at the same time, illustrates the conflicts." Let us add: Not only in drama.

Minister Halm Meets Union Representatives

AU2611205089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Nov 89 p 1

[ND report: "Businesslike Cooperation Between Ministry and Trade Union"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—A new kind of cooperation between trade unions and state leadership will rule out the "false comradeliness," which has been exercised so far, but will include hard, businesslike negotiations on all questions which touch upon the interests of the working people. This was agreed at a meeting on Tuesday [21 November] by Gunter Halm, minister of light industry, and top functionaries of five trade unions, whose members work in the combines and enterprises of the newly founded ministry, which comprises light industry, glass and ceramics industry, foodstuffs industry, as well as bezirk-administered industry.

Concerning the 1990 plan, the trade unionists called for clear statements on the performance targets, the labor situation, and the material-technical conditions. If it is not possible to establish all targets for the plan during the short time until the end of the year, this has to be done at least for the first quarter of 1990. Payment of master craftsmen has to be put in order as quickly as possible. In this connection, Minister Halm decided that corresponding agreements will be finished by the beginning of December. Now the safeguarding of stable production in order to guarantee supplies to the population and exports is a priority task. In operational terms, it is necessary to make up for backlogs in the fulfillment of contracts. The minister asked for support in this respect.

Furthermore, the trade unionists came out in favor of granting the working people in direct production 3 more days of leave. According to Annelie Unger, chairwoman of the Central Executive Committee of the Textiles, Clothing, Leather Industrial Trade Union, the 40-hour work week is to be introduced only for working women over 50 for the time being.

Rehabilitation for Unjustified Punishment

AU2711073489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Nov 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "What About Unjustified Party Punishment? Answer by the SED Central Committee Consultation and Information Center"]

[Text] Every day many comrades and party collectives and other interested citizens come to the consultation and information center of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] with questions, proposals, and critical remarks. Many questions concern party work. These questions are answered publicly, since they involve—in the spirit of the SED's action program—more democracy and publicity in the life of the party.

[Question] How are comrades rehabilitated who were subjected to unjustified party punishment over the past years?

[Answer] In line with the party statute, the party control commissions have the right and the duty to deal with appeals against party punishment. Their decisions are confirmed by the respective party leaderships.

In the press release of 17 November 1989, the SED Central Party Control Commission published the Central Committee decision on the rehabilitation of party members who were subjected to unjustified party punishment over the past years. This applies to, among others, comrades who expressed criticism of mistakes in party policy and of omissions by the party leadership or who voiced criticism and complaints about economic policy, media policy, and the ban on the magazine SPUTNIK and were punished for this.

It also applies to party members and candidate members who stated that they would leave the party and were subsequently expelled from the party in contradiction to the stipulations of the party statute.

Everyone who is affected by such decisions can turn to the SED Central Committee, the Central Party Control Commission, the bezirk or kreis leaderships, or to the respective party control commissions. Basic organizations or party leaderships, which made such decisions, have the possibility to present proposals for rehabilitation to the Central Committee or to the bezirk and kreis leaderships. All cases, which are known to the party control commissions, will be discussed with the people affected.

Maleuda Looks at Possibility of Krenz Losing

AU2211133389 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 21 Nov 89 p 6

[Interview with GDR People's Chamber President Guenther Maleuda by Peter Philipps; date and place not given: "It Is Possible That Krenz Will Become the Opposition Leader After the Elections"]

[Text] DIE WELT: Is the GDR facing political and economic bankruptcy?

Maleuda: I would start from the fact that the 12th People's Chamber session initiated important steps of progress, which, in my opinion, will help us to gradually get out of this crisis that has seized our society and in particular the economy. A lot of further concrete measures are required, above all, in order to create the legislative foundations for overcoming the crisis in the GDR. I believe that cooperation will also open up opportunities for the FRG to participate in supporting this process of renewal and of basic change in the GDR according to its possibilities.

DIE WELT: Many GDR citizens have considerable savings stashed away. That is to say, apparently, there must be enough money, but the people are not able to spend it.

Maleuda: Yes, this is the problem.

DIE WELT: Does this not mean that there will have to be a currency reform some time?

Maleuda: I am not at all convinced that a currency reform is absolutely necessary. Apart from that, I share, of course, your opinion that the fact that we have considerable savings, while, on the other hand, consumer goods supplies do not meet demand by a long way, constitutes a serious problem.

DIE WELT: The People's Chamber is to be newly elected in free and secret elections. In what respect is the present People's Chamber still legitimized?

Maleuda: This People's Chamber was elected on the basis of a valid electoral law, and I proceed on the assumption that it has to assume the responsibility in this legislative period.

DIE WELT: The entire legislative period?

Maleuda: I proceed on the assumption that we will have a shortened legislative period and that there will be early elections for the People's Chamber and bezirk councils. Absolute emphasis will have to be placed on free and secret elections in the GDR.

DIE WELT: When will the elections be held?

Maleuda: A final opinion on the date of the elections has not yet been formed. I can imagine that these elections will take place in autumn 1990. In this respect, I also proceed from statements and considerations of the citizens' movements, for example, the Democratic Forum.

DIE WELT: Speaking of elections, this leads automatically to the question about Article 1, the claim to leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. Will there be a change here and, if so, when?

Maleuda: Some basic things have already changed. All over the country and in the parties there is the binding demand to rescind this article. The People's Chamber has also made a binding decision on this entire complex. A commission which will supplement, change, and revise the GDR Constitution has been confirmed.

However, in my opinion, the first section, the political bases, are to be discussed in general, that is to say, quite a few sections and articles have been addressed. I could point out that it will become urgently necessary to change Article 27, that is, everything in connection with a media law, with the work of the media, and Article 28, which deals with questions of the right of assembly. We will have to make binding statements on the parties and will have to pass a party bill.

DIE WELT: What will be permitted, that is to say, what will be the limit for the admission of a party?

Maleuda: I proceed on the assumption that we—I am speaking on my own behalf and on behalf of the Peasants Party—that the GDR will be a sovereign socialist state with a basically changed content, that it will be democratic and humane, but that the basic values will be developed in the way that is being widely discussed in the country today. That is to say, this also clearly shows that we do not choose a capitalist course. Actually, the point is democratic socialism, a socialism which guarantees a life in peace and prosperity to the GDR people. And this is a great claim. This is a break with the past, with many considerations that must belong to the past.

DIE WELT: The former constitution contained an Article 8 which defined reunification as a goal; however, reunification the socialist way. This article was repealed without substitution when the Constitution was last amended in 1974. Will it be changed again?

Maleuda: No, there are, of course, opinions on reunification, but this topic is primarily discussed in the FRG and in West Berlin. However—and we note this with satisfaction—there are major objections also in your country as well as in the other West European countries. Nor do I think that this topic is currently on the agenda.

DIE WELT: Will there be fundamental changes in the Constitution regarding the economic area, such as the more widespread admission of private ownership and private firms?

Maleuda: I think that we will retain the basic principle of socialist ownership in industry. I also assume that our cooperative farmers want to increase cooperative ownership. On the other hand, however—and this also follows from the prime minister's government statement—we will have to make quite a number of new considerations for giving more scope to private initiative. I do not primarily mean changes in the large combines, even though we will also have to thoroughly examine the question of whether their size is effective; however, I assume that we will keep the large combines. It would be conceivable that small enterprises will be formed, in particular also in the arts, crafts, and services sector. Many proposals of the bloc parties aim in this direction.

DIE WELT: What is to be said for large combines, for instance, and against people's stock companies?

Maleuda: Well, I do not think that we have thought that far. In addition, I assume that there will be quite a number of considerations in cooperation with monopolies, enterprises, and institutions in the FRG as to how the economic reform in the GDR will be organized.

DIE WELT: When will it be easier to get from the West to the East, and how about the mandatory exchange rate?

Maleuda: These questions will also be discussed in a few hours. I assume that there will be considerations and decisions.

DIE WELT: Will there be a public People's Chamber session which will call those people to account who are responsible for the past, or will this be done behind closed doors?

Maleuda: No, no, with the 11th meeting, we opened the GDR People's Chamber to the public. In my view, it was already opened with the election of the president of the People's Chamber. Our party suggested that this election should be secret. One has to start some time. In my view, it was the proper time to take an initial, if modest, step.

DIE WELT: So the responsible people will be publicly discussed in the plenum?

Maleuda: Yes, we have formed a committee which will deal with problems of abuse of official authority, corruption, personal enrichment, or the violation of laws. This will not be dealt with behind closed doors. The People's Chamber Presidium and the other installed committees will very much keep that under control.

DIE WELT: That means, of course, that Mr Honecker, Mr Mittag, and others will be discussed. After all, one sat together with them for a long time, deciding measures jointly and backing them publicly—measures of which they are now being accused.

Maleuda: I assume that the Party Control Commission of the SED Central Committee will have to do basic work at the party level, and I expect this committee to deal with the problems and violations of public law, irrespective of the person involved.

DIE WELT: Could it be that this will lead to trials?

Maleuda: I do not currently have a specific idea, but this cannot be ruled out.

DIE WELT: Mr Maleuda, questions arise time and again as to what happened on 9 October. Was there an order to shoot at demonstrators? Who prevented it from being carried out?

Maleuda: I did not have any concrete knowledge of what was going on prior to that day, 9 October, nor did I have any information about the orders given. Strictly speaking, I was closely informed for the first time about these events by the prosecutor general's report last Saturday [18 November]. Many people may find it hard to understand, but I must stress here that even a deputy State Council chairman had extremely little insight into the internal implications of actual social developments, in particular problems related to economic stability. All problems that I personally was also aware of, problems in the supply sector, were discussed and were also dealt with in party information bulletins. However, the serious and critical situation of the GDR economy was not the subject of discussions in the State Council or in other bodies. I must say that the information we received was always embellished, and up till 6 October, we were talking about a stable and economically sound GDR.

DIE WELT: However, Mr Krenz was always among those insiders who more or less knew everything.

Maleuda: I cannot judge what personal share Mr Krenz had in the Politburo work. I accept in particular the measures that have been initiated since the time he took over as general secretary and State Council chairman.

DIE WELT: Can you conceive of Mr Krenz becoming opposition leader in the People's Chamber following elections in 1990?

Maleuda: Given the development that we have initiated, anything is possible. It would have been equally conceivable for Professor Gerlach to have been elected at the 11th plenary meeting, and not Maleuda.

DIE WELT: How about the works militia?

Maleuda: Well, you see, so much has started moving, and there are basic changes in the area of state security, for instance, and the Interior Ministry. Consideration will certainly have to be given to the nature and structure that the works militia should have in enterprises and institutions. Following the equality between the parties, free space will become available where representatives of the other bloc parties will and must take over positions they were unable to assume in the past.

DIE WELT: Does that mean the end of the National Front?

Maleuda: That might be the case. There are discussions that the National Front should give up its functions.

DIE WELT: Why do you insist on a socialist state? Your neighbors, the Hungarians and the Poles, have gone much farther. Do you not see pressure being brought to bear on you to go farther here as well?

Maleuda: I assume that the GDR citizens will be strong enough to find their own profile, and that we do not always follow developments in Poland and Hungary.

DIE WELT: If we two conduct a telephone conversation, can we be sure that nobody is listening whom we did not permit to do so?

Maleuda: I hope so. In my telephone calls, also at home, I have always assumed that nobody was listening. I have never been careful. But such things allegedly exist. If we conduct a telephone conversation in the future, I would say that it would be nice to talk about everything as we liked.

DIE WELT: There is the bad reproach about people trimming their sails to every prevailing wind. Would you think that you are meant personally?

Maleuda: You know, Mr Philipps, there are so many ugly terms. There is talk about hard-liners, Stalinists, people who trim their sails to every prevailing wind, reformers.

I do not feel like somebody who trims his sails to the wind. Wherever I was, I have personally always tried in all these years to establish and maintain close contact with the people.

'Antifascists' Issue Statement on Stalinism

LD2111102589 East Berlin ADN in English 0910 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Full and public rehabilitation of all "anti-fascists wherever persecuted, tormented or murdered under Stalin's rule" has been demanded by the GDR's antifascist resistance fighters.

A statement released on Monday said, "This goes for all comrades who were humiliated, unjustly treated and imprisoned in our country." Antifascism meant human dignity, democracy and freedom.

"The deep crisis our country has got into was caused by faulty, undemocratic decisions, consequences of Stalinism not overcome, arbitrariness and abuse of power in many fields. It is particularly hurtful to us that several anti-fascist resistance fighters are largely responsible for this."

Inhumane, peace-endangering neo-Nazism was trying to gain footholds in the GDR, too. "We feel obliged to prevent this with might and main," the statement said.

Modrow's Economic Adviser Discusses Reforms

AU2011085389 Vienna KURIER in German 18 Nov 89 p 5

[Interview with Wolfgang Heinrichs, head of the Economic Research Institute at the GDR Academy of Sciences and economic adviser of Premier Modrow, by Dieter Holzweber; date and place not given: "The Market is Indispensable"]

[Text] KURIER: You are considered one of the closest economic advisers of new GDR Premier and reformer Hans Modrow. After the political opening up toward the West, will there now also be far-reaching economic changes?

Heinrichs: Certainly. I think that the political changes are an indispensable precondition for comprehensive economic reforms. Over the past decades the GDR tried to correct the functioning of the economy. I recall the efforts at the end of the 1960's, which became known through the "New Economic System." At that time we were already talking about the enterprises' own responsibility and about reforms. But these efforts were doomed to failure because these changes in the economy did not go hand in hand with political reforms, in particular as regards democratization. The fate of political reforms depends on how the economic changes now become tangible for the people.

KURIER: In the Soviet Union there are enormous difficulties at the moment because these initiated economic reforms are not quite effective at the moment and because, as a result, there is unrest. Is the GDR population able to tolerate more in this respect?

Heinrichs: First of all, the population has to be told the whole truth. We have to tell our people that we partly lived beyond our means, at the cost of tackling urgent tasks for the future. This is a bitter thing, and we have to talk about who is responsible for what happened. Now we have to work hard to preserve our achievements and to stabilize them before we think of improvements. In the social field we really have achieved some things, however, at the cost of neglecting investments to ensure the future. One does not become internationally competitive overnight, one has to prepare for this in the long term.

KURIER: For a long time the GDR was the economically leading country among the CEMA states. Has the GDR lost ground in this respect, too?

Heinrichs: No. The distance to the second-ranking country, the CSSR, and to the other counties is still quite considerable. We continue to have a leading position in CEMA. If one puts the produced national income of the GDR per inhabitant (which corresponds to the gross national product) at 100, the CSSR comes in second place with 10 to 12 points less, then Bulgaria with 18 points less, then Romania with 17 points less, the USSR with 25 points less, then Hungary—despite the reforms—with 25 to 30 points less, and Poland is at the end with 50 points less.

KURIER: And what about a comparison with the West?

Heinrichs: Compared with the GDR the United States has about 160 points, the FRG 150, and France 145 to 150. We have approximately the level of Italy. But this shows that even though we are the leading country in CEMA, we are clearly lagging behind compared with West European countries.

KURIER: If the GDR wants to catch up with the West, where do you see the biggest backlogs?

Heinrichs: The politicians who were responsible for economic policy decided autocratically and, during the recent past, also by ignoring the people. We criminally underestimated the international importance of perestroyka. Our leadership tried to see the importance of perestroyka as being limited only to the USSR. It was said that the USSR should first reach our level. This reform does not interest us. However, perestroyka has given rise to stimuli of thought, which leads to an overall re-examination of the socialist economic and social system, in all fields, not only in the political field but also in the intellectual-cultural and economic sectors. Now you will justifiably ask why this was not recognized earlier. This is connected with our party structure, with the politically ossified structures, which are oriented toward a command style. Another wrong development in

the economic area was that the GDR, in contrast to the trends of internationalization of social and economic life, isolated itself from this internationalization. We did not behave actively as regards the integration into the international economic division of labor. And, of course, this has terrible consequences. One example: We were certainly the only CEMA country, which entered the microelectronics sector in 1977. We did this with our own strength. But we cannot keep up with the international speed in the development of high technology on our own. On the other hand, the technological level of the CEMA allies was so low that they were not interested in entering the microelectronics sector. However, we are hopelessly lagging behind the West in this respect.

KURIER: Do you see any chance of catching up in the short term?

Heinrichs: As regards competitiveness, we have slid down to the basement. But this is also our chance in contrast to other socialist countries. What we need is capital and management—know-how from the West. Now we do not need help to get enough to eat. We need support, partnership at a different technological level. One example: The average housing space available in the GDR is 27 square meters per inhabitant; in the FRG this figure is 35 square meters, but the Soviet Union only has 9 square meters. Thus, we have already reached a certain level.

KURIER: So, it is not true that GDR citizens have to queue up for hours to get a piece of meat?

Heinrichs: No. If we have problems with supplies, they are not in agriculture. We have problems with the distribution system and with refinement. We have a milk surplus in the GDR, but we have to import cheese from the FRG, because we do not have any processing factories.

KURIER: Thus, the socialist planned economy is at an end?

Heinrichs: The socialist, centralist planned economy was certainly important for the reconstruction after the war. Now, however, we are in a phase, where the market cannot be replaced by anything else. The socialism which we have practiced in the GDR is dead, but the socialist idea is not.

KURIER: Thus, in the future your economic program will be similar to that of the Social Democratic Party of Germany or the Socialist Party of Austria—a social market economy?

Heinrichs: I will certainly urgently recommend these economic programs to our new premier.

ROK President No Tae-u Arrives in Budapest

LD2211114789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Excerpts] The ROK head of state has arrived at Ferihegy Airport. Andras Siklos reports.

[Siklos] The plane bringing the ROK president landed at exactly 1115. [passage omitted]

No Tae-u arrived in Budapest, from the FRG, with his wife. The head of state was received at the airport with military honors. No Tae-u and his Hungarian host, Matyas Szuros, inspected the honor guard.

Also present at the reception for the president were Foreign Minister Gyula Horn and Tamas Beck.

President No Tae-u is accompanied to Hungary by the ROK foreign minister, the trade minister, and the minister for science and technology. In his entourage is the chairman of the Joint Committee of the Chiefs of General Staff, as well as a 27-member ROK business delegation. This fact indicates that the focal point of the highest level Hungarian-ROK talks will primarily be economic cooperation.

No Tae-u's first official program will begiin at 1430, when he will meet Matyas Szuros, acting president of the Republic, in the arliament.

Further on Talks

SK2311024089 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 23 Nov 89 p 1

[By correspondent Pak Mu-Chong]

[Text] Budapest—President No Tae-u arrived in Hungary Wednesday (Nov. 22) to become the first Korean head of state ever to visit a socialist country, pledging to develop Korea-Hungary relations into a showcase of detente.

Arriving at Ferihegy airport from Bonn at 11:10 a.m. (7:10 p.m. KST) to a red carpet welcome, No held a series of talks with political leaders here, including Acting President Matyas Szuros.

No and Hungarian leaders reached a broad agreement that Seoul and Budapest will jointly keep up with the rapidly changing world situation, while endeavoring to strengthen bilateral cooperation between the two countries in private sectors.

In their respective meetings, No and the political leaders shared the view that the promotion of relations between their nations will help Korea in its approaches to other East Bloc nations.

In particular, Hungarian leaders cited No's "nordpolitik" for greatly contributing to easing tensions on the Korean peninsula and of the world as well.

Hungary is the first Eastern European socialist country which established full diplomatic ties with the Republic of Korea as a result of No's energetic policy for rapprochement with socialist countries.

The Hungarian leaders No met with included three presidential candidates, and Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party. Acting President Szuros is the chairman of his country's parliament. Hungary is scheduled to hold a plebiscite to determine the date of its presidential election.

In his summit talk with Szuros at the latter's parliament office, No stressed, in particular, that Hungary should maintain good relations with North Korea despite its newly-established ties with South Korea.

"I do not want our new friendship to cause any problems in Hungary's relationship with the North," he said.

No and the Hungarian leaders particularly centered their talks on economic cooperation with the president noting that the expansion of bilateral trade would greatly benefit Hungary's economic development.

The president stated that Korea would help Hungary improve its economy through the expansion of trade and investment, saying that many Korean businesses want to advance into Hungary.

"On its own part, our government will encourage private businessmen to seek joint-venture firms or to invest in the country directly," he said.

No disclosed that Korea would seek to set up a "Korea-Hungary consultative council for development" to meet on a regular basis, while inviting Hungarian students and businessmen to Korea for studying and training.

Then he stressed the need for cooperative relations between the two countries, in preparation of the integration of the European Community.

Hungarian Acting President Szuros said that South Korea's efforts to improve relations with the North and its new unification formula will eventually bring about peace on the Korean peninsula.

Reconfirming his government's support for Seoul's plan to enter the United Nations along with Pyongyang, the acting president suggested that the two countries take joint steps in coping with the international situation.

Szuros asked for the transfer of Korean experience and technology, expressing great interest in Korea's free market system, the government's efficient development policy and export drive policy that have been the main elements of its remarkable economic growth.

Following their summit talks, No and Szuros attended a ceremony for the signing of an aviation treaty by their respective foreign ministers. Later in the evening No and First Lady Kim Ok-suk were guests of honor at a state banquet.

More on No-Szuros Talks

LD2311125689 Budapest MTI in English 2035 GMT 22 Nov

[Text] Budapest, November 22 (MTI)—No Tae-u, president of the Republic of Korea, held cordial discussions with Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary. Mr No appreciated the importance of establishing diplomatic relations. He spoke highly of the independent and open foreign policy of Hungary, and said he is satisfied with the development of bilateral relations. The cooperation between Hungary and the Republic of Korea could serve as an example for other countries, Mr No said.

Mr Szuros stressed that 'the political relations between the two countries have been elevated to the highest level formally with the visit of President No. We have created the contractual bases of this within a short time, which is unique in international practice.'

Mr Szuros also discussed economic cooperation. He said: 'We do not expect donations or assistance from the Republic of Korea, but strive for reciprocally advantageous cooperation. We see the most beneficial forms of this in cooperation in industrial production, and joint stands on third markets. We would also like to involve as much Korean capital-strong companies to undertake the complex reconstruction of some Hungarian industrial branch, or to figure prominently in it.'

The interim president of the Republic also said Hungary is interested in the creation and maintenance of the peace and security of the Korean peninsula. It supports the peaceful unification of the two Korean states free from external intervention, which should be solved by the Korean people themselves, through negotiations.

Aviation, Tourism Agreements Signed

LD2311130289 Budapest MTI in English 2114 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 23 (MTI)—Two intergovernmental agreements were signed following the meeting between Matyas Szuros and No Tae-u in the presence of the interim president of the Republic of Hungary and the president of the Republic of Korea. The number of high-level agreements in force between the two countries now stands at nine.

The agreement on civil aviation enables cooperation between the airlines of the two countries. The tourism cooperation protocol encourages the expansion of tourism, and the exchange of tourist groups. It also supports the founding of joint ventures.

Further on Agreement, Protocol

SK2311030089 Seoul YONHAP in English 0235 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, Nov. 23 (YONHAP)—South Korea and Hungary signed Wednesday [22 November] a bilateral aviation accord and tourism protocol, and agreed to set up a technology cooperation center during President No Tae-u's visit here on a leg of a four-nation tour of Europe.

Under the accord signed by Korean Foreign Minister Choe Ho-chung and Hungarian Minister of Transportation, Communications and Construction Andas Derzsi, both countries will grant carriers of the other side a right to load and unload passengers and cargoes on agreed routes.

President No and Hungarian Acting President Matyas Szuros watched the two ministers sign the pact.

The accord also will provide a clause under which duties will be exempted on regular equipment, parts, and fuel for aircraft service on a reciprocal basis.

The tourism protocol, signed by Choe and Hungarian Trade Minister Tamas Beck, deals with joint investment in group tours, hotels, simplication of tour procedures, and establishment of tourism information centers in each other's country.

Seoul and Budapest have signed six agreements so far, covering investment protection, economic cooperation, culture, official visa waive, science and technology, and double taxation prevention.

Meanwhile, Science-Technology Minister Yi Sang-hui and Hungarian Industry Minister Ferenc Horvath agreed to establish a Korea-Hungary Technology Cooperation Center at the University of Polytechnics of Budapest that will promote exchanges of technicians, professors and students.

Yi and Horvath also agreed to hold bilateral minister talks early next year to draw up a short- and intermediate-range master plan to implement the Korea-Hungary science and technology accord.

No Meets Nyers, Pozsgay, Kulcsar

LD2311125889 Budapest MTI in English 2126 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 22 (MTI)—No Tae-u, president of the Republic of Korea, held talks in parliament building with Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party. After reviewing the Hungarian home political situation and cooperation between the two countries, the two politicians exchanged views on international issues. In answer to Mr Nyers's question, Mr No said they wish to develop their relations with all countries of the region, including the People's Republic of China, in the spirit of the northern policy.

Mr No reported on his talks in the FRG, and the processes taking place in the socialist countries were also discussed. The president of the HSP noted that 'in the interest of our political progress—which is also evaluated as good in the West—we now need an economic boom to be able to stabilize our situation in the unified Europe of the future.'

Following, two candidates for the office of president of the Republic met with President No, at his residence. Mr No first held a private meeting with Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, candidate of the Hungarian Socialist Party, then with Minister of Justice Kalman Kulcsar, president and candidate of the Patriotic People's Front.

A lunch was hosted in honour of Mr No, visiting president of the Republic of Korea and his entourage by Andras Gabor, president of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce. During his toast Mr Gabor praised the economic successes of the Republic of Korea, which is considered could serve as an example to Hungary.

Speaking of the economic achievements of his country, Mr No emphasized the significance of stimulating private economy and that the credits drawn by the government have been spent on boosting key industry branches and stepping up exports. On economic cooperation between the two countries, Mr No mentioned that several Korean companies are interested in direct investment or setting up joint ventures in Hungary, and that products could be sold on the domestic and world markets. Mr No expressed his conviction that with its rich historical past, the Hungarian nation of extraordinary skills will be able to accomplish the "miracle by the Danube River".

Korea is ready to do everything in its capacity to help Hungary's economic development. The country is also ready to share its technological know-how and practical experience with Hungary, and prosposes the setting-up of a consultative bodies in various economic fields with the participation of Hungarian and Korean experts.

Visit Summary

SK2311034689 Seoul YONHAP in English 0324 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, Nov. 23 (YONHAP)—President No Tae-u, starting a three-day state visit that would highlight his diplomatic breakthrough to the East Bloc, has promised loans, investments, and transfer of technology to Hungary, the first socialist country that set up diplomatic relations with his country.

No, who arrived here Wednesday to become the first South Korean president ever to set foot on a socialist country, said South Korea will support Hungary's econonic development programs through both direct and joint venture investments as well as expansion of bilateral trade.

Hungary established diplomatic relationship with South Korea in February, seven months after No declared an end to his country's 40-year-long hostility to the communist bloc in a set of unprecedented diplomatic initiatives announced shortly before the Olympic Games held in Seoul last year.

"Many South Korean enterprises are hoping to participate in Hungary's economic development programs, and the South Korean government will actively support it," No told acting Hungarian President Matyas Szuros in their summit talks held shortly after his arrival.

No also pledged to share Korea's development knowhow and technology with Hungary, saying that he will set up a "South Korea-Hungary consultative council on development policies" which will meet on a regular basis, and will invite Hungarian students and businessmen for study and training in his country.

No was responding to a seven-point request by Szuros for South Korea's participation in the economic buildup programs in Hungary that transformed itself a month ago into a multi-party democracy after 41 years of communist rule.

Szuros suggested No that the two countries would expand economic cooperation through direct or joint venture investments by Korean firms in Hungary and that South Korean enterprises would help Hungary develop certain fields like communications, automobile, electronic and chemical industries.

Szuros promised that his country will play a "bridge's role" for South Korea in Eastern Europe and will continue to support South Korea in international society as it did for Seoul's plan to enter the United Nations last month during the U.N. General Assembly.

After the summit talks, No met with Hungary's political leaders—the ruling Socialist Party leader Rezso Nyers, presidential candidate Imre Pozsgay, and an opposition party presidential candidate—before he attended a dinner hosted by Szuros.

No admired political reforms now under way in Hungary in his dinner speech.

On the second day of his visit Thursday, No will meet with Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth before he heads for the Hungarian National Assembly to deliver a speech titled "Partners For a New Era of Harmony" which will be televised nationwide.

No Meets With Nemeth

LD2311104789 Budapest MTI in English 0918 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 23 (MTI)—No Tae-u, president of the Republic of Korea, continued his talks with the Hungarian leaders in Budapest on Thursday, [23 November] the second day of his visit to Hungary.

In the morning, Miklos Nemeth, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, met the president at his residence.

Foreign minister Choe Ho-chung started talks with his Hungarian counterpart Gyula Horn in the morning.

Foreign Minister Received by Horn

LD2311232789 Budapest MTI in English 1638 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 22 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn met with his counterpart from the Republic of Korea, Choe Ho-chong on Thursday, for the fourth time since the establishment of full diplomatic relations between the two countries. Mr Choe arrived in Hungary in the party of President No.

On economic issues, the sides spoke of the intention of the Korean Republic to give backing to the setting up of joint companies with loans. The foreign ministers also surveyed forthcoming visits to each others' countries, as Mr Horn is scheduled to visit Seoul in the near future. His visit will also serve the preparation for the prime ministerial visit due in the first half of next year. Parliamentary ties are also developing well, with a Hungarian parliamentary delegation headed by Pal Gagyor, president of the Hungarian-Korean section of parliament due to shortly visit Korea. This visit is due to be returned by the speaker of the Korean Parliament in the first half of next year. A visit to Budapest by Kim Yong-san, president of the opposition Reunification Democratic Party, is scheduled to take place in January.

Mr Choe also expressed his hope that the future president of the Republic of Hungary will pay a visit to Seoul in the coming year.

The foreign ministers also held an exchange on some international issues, the events taking place in East European socialist countries, and the forthcoming meeting between American President George Bush and Soviet State and Party Leader Mikhail Gorbachev. The issue of the Korean Peninsula is also on the agenda.

No Tae-u Addresses Parliament

LD2411100789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1020 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Speech by ROK President No Tae-u at Hungarian National Assembly— live; in Korean with superimposed translation into Hungarian]

[Text] Mr Speaker and esteemed Assemblymen: I feel extremely honored to be speaking before you in this National Assembly hall, which has a shining history and tradition. I express thanks to you for inviting me and allowing me the special privilege to speak here. I am happy to be the first Korean president to visit this beautiful country following the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Hungary.

At a time when a new chapter is being opened in the history of the Republic of Hungary and on the very spot where you are taking the lead in effecting changes throughout the world, it is very significant that I am meeting you, the pioneers of change.

On 23 October last year [as heard], I was one of the peoples of the world who witnessed with admiration and emotion the declaration of the new Republic of Hungary at this honored National Assembly Hall. [applause]

Our 42 million people send warm applause to the Hungarian people for their courage and wish you every blessing for the future of this country. I convey our people's deep fraternity, friendship, and warm greetings to you.

Our two countries and peoples have now opened a new era. The great decision of the Republic of Hungary for openness, reform, and self-determination has laid a bridge of friendship and cooperation between the Republic of Korea, with its time-honored culture, and your country, which is in the center of Europe. The establishment of diplomatic relations between Korea and Hungary has beamed a message of harmony and hope for our two countries and for the entire world. This was a sign of hope showing that the system of the cold war, which lasted for nearly half a century following the war, is vanishing in history and a new era of harmony is opening.

The marriage of the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Hungary was a new diplomatic event. However, the peoples of our two countries have long maintained the sense of union and fraternity through an invisible commonness in history and culture. Hungary is a state with a long history. So is Korea, which has its unique language, characters, and culture. Our two people use the same Ural-Altaic family of languages. We think that the ancestors of our people and the Magyar people maintained deep bonds and cultural relations during the prehistoric age.

In history as well, the peoples of our two countries experienced similar destinies. As the Hungarian people have displayed unequalled patriotism and a very strong will of freedom, our people, too, have done the same in repelling aggressions by the stronger nations many times and in maintaining national integrity and independence. As the modern history of Hungary has not always been smooth, Korea, too, has survived the history of difficulties and trials amid the rivalries of major powers. In the 19th Century, as the Hungarian people under the leadership of Kossuth Lajos waged a heroic struggle for independence, our people, in the 20th Century, also persistently fought for their independence against foreign domination.

During such a gloomy period, Mr An Ik-tae, who composed our national anthem, studied under the Hungarian musician Kodaly Zoltan. Liszt and Bartok are all familiar names even for our young ones and the Korean people admire the musical and artistic genius of the Hungarian people. Though geographically far apart from one another, the two countries are linked by such commonness and intimacy. But they have been isolated from

one another because of the barriers of ideology and system. This has been a very unnatural situation.

After surmounting all these barriers, we are now facing the common ideals and national tasks which we should realize and accomplish jointly. All countries on the globe should build a peaceful world based on the principle of reciprocity, equality, and cooperation. This is the common ideal of our two peoples who have paid dear prices, because of the postwar system of confrontation.

Our people look with great anticipation at the surge of reform and openness which presently sweeps the entire world. This is because they have suffered, more than any other people in the world, unspeakable sacrifices and pain under the system of the cold war. The end of World War II brought to our people the joy and hope of liberation from the oppression of colonial rule and the recovery of their country, which they had defended for thousands of years.

However, the joy of liberation was too short. It turned into the sorrow of national division overnight. The line of division was drawn in the center of the Korean peninsula according to the conveniences of the major powers. Under the system of cold war confrontation, the Korean peninsula was suddenly engulfed in a sea of flames of war on a Sunday morning in June 1950. In the wake of the war which continued for more than three years, everything on our soil was devastated, and millions of innocent people were killed and shed blood.

Esteemed Assemblymen, I express deep thanks to the Hungarian people for their support for us when we hosted the Seoul Olympics as a complete Olympiad with the participation of all the nations of the East and West for the first time in 12 years.

Our people sent warm applause to Miss (Kristiana Igerseg), who was the flower of the Seoul Olympic games, and those other Hungarian athletes, who made excellent achievements, for their sportsmanship.

We still remember the excitement of the Seoul Olympics, during which the festival of harmony of mankind was held by surmounting all the gaps and barriers between races, religions, ideas, systems and between the poor and the rich.

Our people pooled their wisdom and strength in making preparations for the Olympics so that the seeds of peace and reconciliation would take root on the soil where confrontation and tension could develop into the danger of hostilities at any moment.

We are very proud of the fact that we made the surge of harmony flood even more throughout the world by hosting the Seoul Olympics, during which all the nations of the world gathered at a place with understanding and friendship.

Mr Speaker and esteemed Assemblymen, the Republic of Hungary and the Republic of Korea, in taking the lead in building a new world, are stepping up their progress toward prosperity and development.

The open door policy, reform, and democratization sought by the Republic of Hungary bear many similarities with the state policies of Korea. We have learned that progress can be made only through competition within a pluralistic society. Human dignity, freedom, and individual motivations for achievement not only guarantee individual creativity and happiness, but also generate new energies for national development.

A market economy and open society which offers equal opportunity for all has brought prosperity to us by leading us to compete efficiently in the world community. This is the direction Korea has followed and the success in this approach has made Korea what it is today.

Methods can differ. But I am convinced that the great choice the Hungarian people made to move forward toward the common ideals will certainly be victorious.

The new decision of the Republic of Hungary will contribute enormously not only to the development of Hungary itself but to the attainment of a better world as well.

National Assemblymen, transcending differences in ideology and system, all countries must coexist and achieve co-prosperity based upon mutual respect and trust. They must jointly build a more peaceful and prosperous world.

We are living in a world where the development of science and technology and the promotion of exchange and cooperation are uniting mankind in a single community. Now, we must avoid and put an end to a competition of attrition; enmity that causes all the people painful suffering; and confrontation which may at times drive mankind into the flames of war. From this belief, the Korean Government has thus far carried out its northern policy designed to open positive relations with countries whose relations with Korea had been severed.

The establishment of formal relations between Korea and Hungary has served to further solidify our firm belief in the northern policy. Following Hungary, Poland established diplomatic relations with us. We are more actively pursuing exchange and cooperation with China and the Soviet Union and other East European countries to improve relations with them.

National Assemblymen, we are making all possible efforts to bring down the barrier separating the Korean peninsula into North and South, just as the Republic of Hungary removed the East-West barrier. At this very moment, all of our 65 million people are suffering the pain of division. We have millions of family members that have been separated by the DMZ. For almost half a century, they have not been allowed to send letters or make telephone calls to each other, let alone freely visit

each other. They have lived even without knowing whether the members of their families are alive or not, or where they live.

On 7 July last year, I made public an epoch-making policy for North and South Korea to end confrontation and to develop relations as cooperative partners. Since North and South Korea will not be able to achieve reunification overnight under the current prevailing circumstances, they must first consolidate a foundation for mutual trust through dialogue and cooperation.

I advanced the Korean commonwealth reunification proposal that, as an interim stage toward reunification, the North and South form a commonwealth and restore community relations sector by sector within the framework of this commonwealth. This would create conditions for a political integration, thus building one country according to the principles of independence, peace, and democracy. I have urged North Korean President Kim Il-song to join me in North-South Korean summit talks at the earliest possible date. In the summit talks, North and South Korea can discuss arms reduction, a non-aggression declaration, and all other pending issues without any precondition attached and solve them. I hope that the Republic of Hungary will also help us alleviate tension on the Korean peninsula and open a road toward reconciliation. We hope that countries that are establishing new relations with us will maintain their good relations with North Korea just as they develop good relations with us. I do not want the promotion of the relations between us and Hungary to cause a cooling in the relations between Hungary and North Korea. We do not want the isolation of North Korea. We hope that North Korea will come out to the open world to cooperate with all countries and to open a road toward North-South reconciliation and reunification together with us.

National Assemblymen, just as Hungary is undergoing a major change, we in Korea have also been going through a democratic reform, which one might call a quiet revolution. Since its foundation, Korea has maintained the constitutional governmental system of parliamentary democracy based on the plural political party system and the principles of pluralism. However, the 40-year history of constitutional democratic government was too short a period to liquidate the protracted tradition of authoritarian rule. A strong government was required in the process of nation building, and this established a pattern of unilateral leadership while suppressing the people's needs and demands.

Two years ago, tens of thousands of people poured out into all the streets of the cities of Korea demanding democracy. The situation reached a crisis where the future could hardly be foreseen. At that time, as the leader of the ruling party, and firmly believing in the principle of democracy that power emanates from the people, I announced the 29 June Declaration for Democratic Reform, accommodating the fervent wishes of the nation. From that point onward the reform of Korea began, toward complete democracy based on openness, freedom, and self-regulation.

A new Constitution was subsequently adopted with the agreement of the ruling and opposition parties and the people. The new Constitution provided for the direct popular election of the president. Under the new Constitution, a fierce free and direct election was held to elect the president. In the general elections conducted in April of last year, the opposition political parties won a majority of seats in the National Assembly for the first time in our history. As a result, parliamentary democracy in Korea is currently going through a new experiment in checks and balances.

The news media freely criticize all government policies, including the president, and disclose to the nation any and all social injustice. In short, the new wave of reform has presented us with an enormous challenge. In the wake of rapid democratization the social phenomenon appeared in which many of the demands of the people, that had been pent up for so long, erupted suddenly. The people's complaints, which had accumulated in the shade of rapid economic growth, came up to the surface, and the upheaval resulting from a failure to accomodate and resolve the complaints at one time was also serious. Even the phenomenon in which people attempted to express their complaints through violence and illegal demonstrations, abusing the principle of democracy, appeared. As a result, we had many difficulties in achieving social stability and in maintaining law and order.

I have fully realized that institutionalizing democracy and allowing it to develop is no less easy than achieving economic development. As the man who opened the road to reform in Korea, I have done my best to overcome these numerous challenges. Such transitional phenomena in our country are being overcome through the united strength of our people. Reform is accompanied by difficulties and instability. Sometimes it is accompanied by risk. To overcome this, patience and the indomitable courage and fighting spirit of the leaders and the people are necessary.

The current reform process in Hungary may, I fear, witness similar difficulties. I have no doubt, however, that the great Hungarian people will ultimately prevail in all these difficulties and achieve in an outstanding manner the reform program which the world now watches.

Speaker and steemed National Assemblymen, just as in Hungary, Korea is a country in which the government and the people are united and where they are are achieving prosperity. Korea was a very poor country and was suffering starvation due to the domination of the Japanese imperialists and the Korean war. Korea was a country with poor natural resources. It was an agricultural country in which more than 60 percent of the population was traditionally engaged in agriculture on a limited area of farmland.

In the early 1960's when we began to earnestly develop our economy, the per capita GNP was less than $100, and exports reached only tens of millions of dollars. Even food and the government budgets relied on aid from foreign countries. For the past 27 years, since 1962, when Korea launched the first 5-year economic development plan, we have recorded an average economic growth of 8.7 percent per year. Korea has now become a newly industrializing country which produces items of almost all kinds, ranging from fiber optics and computers to automobiles and large-type ships, and exports them to foreign markets. With an annual export volume of $60 billion and an annual trade volume of over $120 billion, our country has become one of the 10 largest trading countries in the world.

The strength of the diligent and creative Korean people is the most important prime mover of the economic development of Korea. Along with this, the vigorous and vital civilian-managed economy, which is based on the free enterprise economic system and the market economic system, have led the vigorous economic growth in combination with the government's efficient economic development policy.

Our government has adopted an outbound economic development policy. Korea imported capital, technology, and production facilities from foreign countries or introduced loans from them through the initiative of the government. The government invested these mainly in key state industries, export industries, and other industries, the import substitution effect of which is high and which actively fostered these industries. We have given the highest priority in the government's economic policy to exports.

With the firm national confidence that we can do anything, we have advanced to world markets and accumulated wealth. We have thus fostered a wealthy country. By 1985 a foreign debt of over $46 billion had accumulated due to chronic deficits. However, thanks to the rapid growth in exports and the subsequent high income, the balance of international payment went into the black in 1986. Today Korea is about to become a creditor nation. Korea can no longer justify import restrictions for reasons of balance of payment. Korea is therefore now moving fast in the direction of an open, free, and self-regulating market system.

With a per capita GNP of less than $5,000, Korea is still a developing country. However, I believe that our unprecedentedly rapid development can become an example giving hope and courage to the developing countries of the world.

Hungary has in the past flourished with the most brilliant European culture. It has also experienced the development of the brilliant European culture. Hungary is open and progressive, and has a pool of well-educated manpower. Abundant agricultural products are produced in the vast arable plains of Hungary. I firmly believe that with its wisdom, culture, and boundless potential, Hungary is a country which can generate prosperity.

People often call the development of Korea the "miracle on the Han River." I firmly believe that the great Hungarian people will achieve the "miracle on the Danube," a more outstanding miracle than ours. As Hungary's new partner, Korea will make its utmost efforts to contribute to Hungary's development.

Assemblymen, since the establishment of diplomatic relations last spring, the relations between the two countries have made rapid progress. Agreements have already been concluded on trade, investment guarantees, prevention of double taxation, cooperation in science and technology, and cultural exchange. Yesterday I witnessed the signing of the aviation agreement which allows the airlines of our two countries to fly to Seoul and Budapest. I am confident that in the years to come much will flow freely over this bridge of friendship linking Korea and Hungary, whether it be ideas and ideals, commerce and cooperation, culture and arts, or just simple human stories enriching our lives.

I will develop the relations between Korea and Hungary into relations of friendship and cooperation which can be an example to the world. I will make the utmost efforts to ensure that our two countries share technology and experiences from their efforts for development and develop relations of economic cooperation. If it is helpful for the development of Hungary, I will encourage Korean civilian businesses to establish and build more companies and plants through direct investment and joint investment. Korean businesses that come to Hungary will be able to manufacture goods that are not only needed in Hungary but also marketable in the world in general. In the finance and service industries, too, there are many opportunities to promote our common interests.

A while ago, I saw an impressive performance in Seoul by the Hungarian National Ballet. Much exchange has already taken place in the cultural, arts, and sports fields. University students and members of the younger generation have participated in exchanges, and universities of the two countries have carried out plans to establish ties to promote the understanding of each other's language and culture. More Korean tourists will also visit this beautiful country in the future. It is important for the people of the two countries to get together to understand each other and to be united in spirit. Our meetings will provide a strong foundation for the 21st century, which will soon come.

Mr Speaker and esteemed National Assemblymen, the Hungarian leaders and people are leading the great wave to give Europe a new appearance. A new chapter of history is opening, where the world order will no longer be shaped by wars, but by understanding among people. With the joint efforts of its leaders and its citizens, freedom, democracy, and humanism have been reborn

through peaceful means in the Republic of Hungary. Your country was the first to tear down the wall of cold war division.

Now, one wall after another is tumbling down in Berlin and various other places in the world. We hope that this wave of hope will overcome all the barriers on earth and open the door to a harmonious world. At this very moment, you and I are witnessing the realization of this common ideal of ours. At this very hour, we are announcing to the world that an era of confrontation has passed and that a new era of friendship, harmony, and progress is opening up. The new relations between the ROK and the Republic of Hungary are the very symbol of a harmonious world.

Mr Speaker, with unlimited potential, abundant resources, and the brimming vitality of development, Asia and the Pacific are emerging as a new axis that is leading the world to achieve prosperity. The Pacific basin is producing more than 50 percent of the total goods produced in the world. Korea has become a country that plays a central role in promoting peace and prosperity in the Pacific.

The Republic of Hungary is a country that has lighted the beacon of hope for mankind, which has suffered from confrontation for half a country since World War II ended. Our two countries have opened a new chapter in history. As new partners, we will contribute to the prosperity of our two countries and peace in the world. Firmly hand in hand, we will open a new, more conciliatory, just, and prosperous era.

God bless the Republic of Hungary. Thank you for listening. [previous two sentences said in Hungarian]

Pozsgay Interviewed

SK2311044189 Seoul CHOSON ILBO in Korean 22 Nov 89 p 4

[Interview with Minister of State Pozsgay by CHOSON ILBO correspondent Kim Chu-il; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Kim Chu-il] What will you say to President No in the talks between President No and yourself?

[Pozsgay] I cannot elaborate on what I would like to say to President No when I meet him. I would like to say this: All the Hungarian people have looked forward to his visit with great expectations.

Another thing I would like to say to President No is that Hungary established diplomatic relations with Korea not after a political fashion, but from our far-reaching insights and principles and political, economic, and diplomatic goals.

I have one more thing to say to him. Not only the Olympics but also the unbelievable, exciting development which Korea has recorded for the past 20 years led Hungary to take interest in Korea. Korea has achieved vigorous economic development and, as a result, has become a world-class industrialized country and has been able to sell competitive goods in all the markets of the world. At the close of my talks with President No, I will ask him what advice he can give the Hungarian people and how Korea can help Hungary achieve economic development.

[Kim] I know that companies from not only West Germany, Japan, Canada, and other advanced industrialized countries but also from Korea have entered into stiff competition to participate in Hungary's 10-year communications modernization project. Can Korea procure contracts for this project in a competition with these countries? I think that this will be discussed as a major issue in your talks with President No. Do you have any intention to help Korea?

[Pozsgay] I will help Korea. I think that Korean companies can win in a competition with companies from other countries. Hungary will act based upon its own interests. We are looking forward to a proposal by the Korean side with great expectations.

[Kim] Communism has been finished in Hungary and Poland. Reforms are underway in the Soviet Union in the name of perestroyka. Changes of considerable magnitude have taken place in East Germany. Do you think this too rapid a change? Also, how do you see the future of East Europe?

[Pozsgay] I think that these changes are controllable. In most cases the changes appear to occur very quickly and in a explosive manner. However, there was a long preparatory stage for these changes. The recent radical changes may be leading to a crisis and may harbor contradictions. They also forecast political possibilities. The Soviet Union's perestroyka has made a decisive contribution to this.

[Kim] U.S. President Bush and General Secretary Gorbachev will hold summit talks on the Mediterranean Sea. Some people worry increasingly that the upcoming talks may be lead to the establishment of a second Yalta structure....

[Pozsgay] As far as I know, fears that the U.S.-Soviet summit talks will be held to provide a second Yalta structure are unfounded.

When I recently visited Washington and met with President Bush, we discussed this issue. President Bush clearly said that the United States will not sign any agreement with the Soviet Union that would sacrifice Central Europe.

[Kim] Would you accept if Korea invites you to visit Korea?

[Pozsgay] I would willingly accept the invitation. I have never been to Korea. Korea gives Hungary the impression that it is a very attractive country. I am of the same opinion.

I would like to visit Korea in the near future. [passage omitted]

More on Economic, Trade Agreements

SK2411034489 Seoul YONHAP in English 0212 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, Nov. 24 (YONHAP)—Some 100 leading businessmen from South Korea and Hungary agreed Thursday to expand bilateral trade and cooperate in Koreans' bid to make inroads into the East European market.

The businessmen reached the agreement, when they held the first joint meeting of the Korea-Hungary Economic Cooperation Committee on the occasion of South Korean President No Tae-u's state visit to Budapest.

In a joint statement adopted at the gathering, they also agreed to make efforts for a gradual trade increase between the two countries through diversification of trade items, noting that trade level has not been satisfactory given the economic potential of their countries.

The statement said Hungary will play the role of a "bridge" in South Korean entrepreneurs' attempt to extend their operations into Eastern Europe.

"No doubt that our business advance into Eastern Europe will get a boost by President No visit to Hungary and today's joint conference," said Kang Chin-ku, Korean chairman of the economic cooperation committee.

Following the meeting held at the international trade center, Korea's Kukje Machinery Co. agreed to import 1.3 million U.S. dollars worth of travelling column machining centers from Hungary while Cas Co. won a contract to export 337,500 dollars worth of electric scales to Hungary.

In addition, Masung Co.'s proposal to establish a 10 million dollar worth pharmaceutical production facility on a joint venture in Hungary is under negotiation.

Among some 20 Korean participants in the joint conference were Chairman of the Federation of Korean Industries Yu Chang-sun, Chairman of Hanjin Business Group Cho Chung-hun, Chairman of Sunkyong Business Group Choe Chong-hyon, and Chairman of Daewoo Business Group Kim U-chung.

No Departs Budapest 24 Nov

LD2411104789 Budapest MTI in English 1004 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 24 (MTI)—No Tae-u, president of the Republic of Korea, left Budapest with his entourage on Friday morning after a two-day official visit here.

The South Korean president was seen off from Ferihegy Airport by Matyas Szuros, interim president of Hungary.

No's Visit Assessed

SK2511005789 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 25 Nov 89 p 2

["News Analysis" by staff reporter Kang Sang-chol: "No's Hungary Visit May Spur Exchanges With E. Europe"]

[Text] President No Tae-u has helped open a new diplomatic horizon for the nation with his summit diplomacy in Hungary.

Being the first Korean head of state who has ever visited an East European country, No has signaled that Seoul will pursue in earnest an "all-direction" diplomacy.

The position is a departure from the past when the nation's diplomacy focused on relations with the United States, Japan and a few other Western allies.

Made possible as the result of his "northern policy," the Hungarian trip will help strengthen No's position both at home and in international diplomatic arenas.

Also noteworthy is the fact that No's visit has been made at a time when East European nations are making political reforms, amidst the newly emerging mood of detente among the superpowers.

Expressing his admiration for changes now taking place in the East European country, No has made it clear that he is determined to push for democratic reforms at home.

He also pledged to continue efforts to improve relations with North Korea and other Communist nations.

His remarks may be considered a manifestation that Korea will faithfully carry out what it is expected to do as a responsible and respectable member of the international community.

The outcome of No's visit to Hungary is expected to have an important impact on the development of ties between Seoul and Budapest. It may also have a positive influence on future developments on the Korean Peninsula.

Encouraged by his successful trip to Hungary, No will continue to push actively his northern diplomacy. Improved relations with East-bloc nations through the policy are expected to help foster an atmosphere for inducing north Korea to open its society.

As was made clear in talks between No and Hungarian leaders, the East-bloc nation wants assistance from Korea for its economic development projects, particularly technology transfer and business investments.

No has promised that Korea will do its best to contribute to Hungary's development by sharing development techniques and know-how. He said he is committed to developing the bilateral relationship into an "exemplum of friendship and cooperation" in the world.

Economic cooperation with Hungary will certainly create chances for Korean businesses to launch joint ventures there and to secure a beachhead for cultivating new markets in the East European region.

No was accorded enthusiastic welcomes during his three-day stay in Budapest which ended Friday.

He held summit talks with acting Hungarian President Matyas Szuros and discussed ways to intensify cooperation between the two countries. They also exchanged views on recent international developments.

No also met a number of other Hungarian government and political leaders. They include Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, President Rezso Nyers of the ruling Socialist Party, the ruling party presidential candidate Imre Pozsgay and opposition party leaders.

He also addressed the Hungarian National Assembly, with his speech being telecast live simultaneously in both nations.

Bratislava Group Against Hungarian Minority Plan

LD2911103489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] In Bratislava a group calling itself Hungarian Students and Public Opinion Against Violence has issued a statement condemning the campaign started in Eastern Slovakia for the creation of a Hungarian autonomous territory. The group has called on the members of the Hungarian national minority living in Czechoslovakia not to join the initiative because it is dangerous and unconsidered.

Pozsgay on Economic 'Crisis,' Referendum

LD2911022789 Budapest MTI in English 2120 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 28 (MTI)—Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] Presidium, paid a visit to Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County on Monday and Tuesday.

In Miskolc, he deliverd an address to the town's professionals.

He stressed that it was the crisis of the economy that drove home the fact that the system of political institutions had become incapable of functioning. At the same time, it had become clear that not finding a remedy for the economic crisis would pose a threat to a democratic transformation.

Answering questions, he claimed to be a supporter of Thatcherism. He stressed the priority of the reform of ownership and the establishment of real market forms and a convertible Hungarian currency.

However, for all this to come true, it was necessary, he went on, to build up the system of institutions required by the democratic transition as soon as possible.

Therefore, he felt sorry the election of the president of the Republic had been postponed, as this also entailed putting off consolidating the country.

Nemeth Receives Party Leaders, Holds Talks

LD2911230589 Budapest MTI in English 2115 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 29 (MTI)—On Wednesday [29 November], Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in his office Tibor Hornyak, Attila Monostori and Lajos Szendi, leaders of the Hungarian Independence Party.

The head of the government also met with leaders of the Alliance of Free Democrats: Marton Tardos, Peter Tolgyessy, Istvan Peto and Janos Kis.

Their discussion focussed on the period of political transition and the related tasks.

HSP Condemns Discrimination in Workplaces

LD2511003889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] The intellectual branch of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] urges that regarding the filling of posts at the workplaces, the applicants' professional suitability should be decisive, independent from their party membership.

The appeal condemns political discrimination, that is that anybody could gain advantages or be handicapped because of their earlier or present party membership.

The appeal points out that during the time of the earlier party-state, political considerations were put in front of professional questions a good many times and this has caused irreparable damages to many people.

Horn Says HSP Represents Left-Wing Values

LD2511162389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] According to the Hungarian Foreign Minister, the changes in Czechoslovakia could have been expected. Gyula Horn was speaking in Hodmezoevasarhely, at a membership meeting of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP].

Speaking about internal politics, he said that all sectors need money, and that the Parliament can not make a decision which will equally satisfy all needs. Speaking about the HSP, Gyula Horn said that his party should take a defined stance on the questions which determine the fate of the country, particularly now when the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party is organizing itself. This is not needed in order for the HSP to become a

governing party, but because, according to Gyula Horn, his party represents the real left-wing values.

TV, Radio Supervisory Committee Meets

LD2611062389 Budapest MTI in English 1336 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 22 (MTI)—The newly-appointed supervisory committee of Hungarian television and radio has held its first session in Budapest.

Members of the committee said asserting the freedom of communication was the most important task facing them, and that included the expression of varying intellectual trends and opinions.

The committee also intends protecting and demonstrating the values of the Hungarian language and culture, including universal cultural values.

The supervisory committee will be issuing a rating for programmes and laying down the principles and economic management of television and radio. One of its tasks will be appointing directors and approving their schemes of development.

The committee agreed not to allow any kind of influential material to be broadcast on either radio or telvision during the 24 hours leaing up to the referendum, to be held on November 26.

In conformity with the principle of equal opportunities, publicity should be given (until November 24th at the latest) to all opinions to do with the referendum.

Ban on Taking Out Listed Food Products

LD2511002989 Budapest MTI in English 1915 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 24 (MTI)—The press office of the government announces:

On the initiative of the population and parliamentary MPs, an inter-ministerial committee has examined—on authorization from the Council of Ministers—the supply situation that has come about in the Hungarian counties along the borders in view of shopping tourism. According to the committee, shopping tourism has caused a difficult situation in the supply of the local population, due to shortages. The situation has become critical in several places.

On the basis of the committee's proposal, the government has ordered a ban for taking out the following products from the country, irrespective of their value:

—meat and meat preparations
—vegetable oil
—margarine
—butter
—cheese
—sugar
—rice
—paprika
—tinned tomato puree
—christmas trees

The restrictions do not apply to purchases of foreigners in hard-currency shops and to food items taken abroad by Hungarian citizens for the purpose of their journey.

Problems of Hard Currency Accounting Viewed

LD2811175489 Budapest MTI in English 1232 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 28, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—According to a senior official at the Hungarian Ministry of Trade, while prominent Soviet economists continue to recommend a gradual switchover to convertible accounting in Hungarian-Soviet trade, the Soviet Government has still not responded officially to Hungary's proposals to sit down and work out how this might be done.

At a recent meeting of company executives Trade Ministry officials stressed that irrespective of whether accounts will be settled in dollars or roubles in future, business deals will still have to be delegated from interstate to company level.

An obstacle to the switchover to convertible accounting lies in the deep economic crisis the Soviet Union finds itself in, which is making progress towards autonomy in company management very slow.

Those seeking an end to rouble trade point to the fact that as the transferable rouble is not convertible those countries that amass heavy trade surpluses have practically no way of spending them.

In the first ten months of the year, Hungary's rouble trade surplus amounted to 500 million roubles.

This means in practice that Hungary is granting its trade partners interest-free loans as well as fueling inflation as Hungarian companies acquire purchasing power without goods coverage.

The Hungarian Government is thus finding itself with little option but to intervene to curb rouble exports. However, the move is not only meeting powerful resistance from those large companies which specialise in Soviet trade, but also from those who believe that Hungary must maintain its share of the huge Soviet market in readiness for better times.

Initially any switch-over to convertible accounting will inevitably involve terms of trade losses for Hungary estimated at between 1 and 2 billion dollars and Hungary is now looking to the Soviets to share some of the burden.

The Soviets, however, are not in a position to match the Hungarian surplus with goods since Soviet-made

machines and equipment are increasingly falling short of Hungarian requirements. Soviet energy supplies to Hungary, upon which some experts see the Hungarian economy as already being far too dependent, are at a maximum and therefore cannot be further boosted.

While in 1950 Hungary relied for only 7 percent of its energy needs on Soviet imports, the current proportion is a whacking 65-70 percent, leading the ministry of industry to draw up a new energy policy of diversifying sources of energy from abroad.

Delegation Protests GDR Treatment of Poles

LD3011225889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] The chairman of a Polish Foreign Ministry delegation, Director Boguslaw Miernik, protested against restrictions on transit traffic and restrictions applied against Poles in the GDR, during talks being conducted in Berlin with the GDR Foreign Ministry, stating that a hostile, anti-Polish psychosis has developed. The Polish side presented several examples of refusal to sell basic food items to our citizens, including to workers employed here. In some cases, Poles have even been forbidden entry into shops. Acts of vandalism have also taken place. Several cars with Polish registration numbers have been destroyed, and hostile slogans have been added. The Polish side demanded the withdrawal of the humiliating restrictions.

The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has also made a sharp protest to Ambassador Van Zwoll in Warsaw. It demands the correct treatment of our citizens on GDR territory, in accordance with the agreements binding both countries.

Envoy Receives Protest

LD3011230289 Warsaw PAP in English 1830 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 30—The GDR ambassador here, Juergen van Zwoll, was today asked to come to the Foreign Ministry where he had a talk with head of the 1st department J. Makosa.

The talk concerned restrictions against Poles who reside in the GDR or travel in transit through its territory.

The ambassador was informed that the matter had been discussed by the Polish Council of Ministers yesterday.

In line with the decision made by the government, Ambassador van Zwoll was today handed a protest note of the Polish Foreign Ministry which contains the official stand of the Polish side and demands a return to proper treatment of Poles in the GDR that would be in accord with agreements binding both states.

Tourists Refused Goods, Service in GDR

LD2511224889 Warsaw PAP in English 2105 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin, Nov 25—Polish tourists are the only people who are controlled in the local shops and only they are refused the goods they want to buy. There are also such outlets, mainly those selling shoes and children's garments, where Poles are not admitted at all. These principles are not binding in relation to tourists from other countries, particulary Germans from the FRG as well as servicemen and officers of the allied forces stationed in West Berlin.

On the contrary, they buy in Berlin shops as much as before the introduction of restrictions. Moreover, they meet with general goodwill of the shop staff and the GDR customers. Polish visitors to Berlin, whose number dropped rapidly over the last few days, leave shops with empty shopping bags.

Jaruzelski, Mazowiecki Discuss USSR Visit

LD0112045289 Warsaw Telvision Service in Polish 1830 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski today received Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Council of Ministers chairman. During the conversation the premier informed the president about the course of his USSR visit, and especially about talks he had with the highest Soviet authorities, meetings with representatives of different circles of Soviet society, as well as about his meetings with Polonia. The president and the premier consider the visit an important event, which should contribute to further successful development of Polish-Soviet relations.

Skubiszewski Discusses Poles in USSR

LD2511002489 Warsaw PAP in English 1819 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 24—"I have reasons to suppose that the Soviet Government would approach with understanding the emigration postulates of Poles living in the Soviet Union," Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said in a comprehensive reply to a question at the Sejm today.

He stressed that such comebacks require the solution of many legal and living problems. All the returnees must be given accommodation, job, and—with the nonexistence of appropriate treaties with the Soviet Union—disability or old age pensions paid by the state treasury.

The minister pointed out that major political and legal changes in the Soviet Union offer to the Poles living there a chance to cultivate their Polishness in the Soviet Union, without the unecessarily moving to Poland.

However, the decision whether to emigrate or stay in the Soviet Union should belong to these people alone. The Polish Government will never impose anything to anyone. Whatever the Soviet Poles decide to do the government will help them as it can.

The minister promised his ministry would make sure that those who wish so will obtain double citizenship. This requires negotiation with the Soviet side over changes in the Soviet law.

Speaking of the problem of stripping Polish soldiers who fought and stayed in the West of their Polish citizenship in the 1950s, the minister told the house that the decision had been annulled in 1971, although it was not published at that time. These soldiers must be given moral satisfaction.

Lithuanian Activists Send Letter to Poland

AU2811112289 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 16 Nov 89 p 6

["Text" of open letter from Lithuanian intellectuals and politicians to the Poles: "To Our Friends the Poles"; date and place not given]

[Text] Lithuania does not harbor any feelings of hostility toward Poland. Lithuania is well aware of what it has received from Poland over the centuries, as well as of what Poland has received from Lithuania. The permanent legacy of our past imposes obligations on us and the future. That is why the goal toward which both of us are striving is particularly important today. Airing complaints and grievances from the past and seeking to settle old scores would lead us into a blind alley. Misunderstandings between us are particularly advantageous to third parties, as they make it possible to erect a new wall of discord and to spread insidious disinformation. The resolution of problems on our behalf and without our participation has imposed a serious check on the present and the future. Yet the many circumstances and deeds that united us would provide a basis for Christian accord and friendship between neighbors. May accord between our peoples be greater and more enduring than discord.

We believe that Poland will always respect the independence and integrity of the Lithuanian state, with its capital in Vilnius.

A just resolution of the ethnic minorities problem is essential for confidence and friendship. The Lithuanians in Poland and the Poles in Lithuania are citizens of their respective countries who enjoy full rights, including the right to cultural autonomy. Guaranteeing both minorities conditions that will enable them to preserve their national identity will serve to integrate them as citizens and will contribute to the development of the country in which they live, to the country's culture and wealth, and to the maintenance of cordial relations as neighbors.

We do not doubt that a free and democratic Lithuania will cooperate in a friendly manner with a free and democratic Poland, the rebirth of which we are following with feelings of joy and to which we convey our most cordial good wishes. The road to a future of freedom in a harmonious community of European nations involves openness, mutual familiarity and understanding, and the constant maintenance of tolerance and goodwill. We are ready to travel that road.

Father Vaclovas Aliulis MIC, Virgilijus Cepaitis, Gediminas Jokubonis, Ceslovas Kudaba, Bronius Kuzmickas, Vytautas Landsbergis, Bronius Leonavicius, Meile Luksiene, Justinas Marcinkevicius, Vytautas Nasvytis, Juozas Tumelis, and Juozas Urbsys.

Success in CSSR of 'Fundamental Importance'

AU3011133589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Nov 89 p 7

[Commentary by Katarzyna Kolodziejczyk: "The Prague Spring Returns in the Fall"]

[Text] The demonstrations involving thousands of the inhabitants of Prague is the second awakening of the Czechs and Slovaks. The first attempts to introduce reform made by Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] General Secretary Aleksander Dubcek under the slogan, Socialism with a Human Face, were crushed in August 1968 by the invasion of the Warsaw Pact forces and the "scorched earth" policy that was subsequently pursued with respect to the reformist intelligentsia.

Not so long ago, glasnost and perestroyka seemed to be a heresy for the CPCZ, not to mention the changes in Poland and Hungary. However, one cannot halt the course of history. So, after renewal reached the GDR and the Berlin Wall collapsed, it was Czechoslovakia's turn.

The opposition groups, which were previously diffuse and are now growing in number, have assumed the form of a more organized movement. The nationwide Civic Forum has been set up, and it acts as a decision center for the opposition.

The demands that have been put forward by the Civic Forum—the abolition of the leading role of the party, the creation of conditions for the conduct of free elections, and the establishment of a system of parliamentary democracy—have unexpectedly undermined monolithic power. Premier Ladislav Adamec has officially recognized the forum and has entered into talks with its representatives.

Careful observers of the Prague scene believe that the signal for change came from Moscow when the CPSU press organ PRAVDA reported a crisis of confidence in the CPCZ leadership and when Radio Prague reported that Premier Adamec was among those calling for change in the party leadership.

Several hours after assuming his new post, Karel Urbanek, CPCZ general secretary, expressed a desire to hold talks. He admitted that the party had lost touch with society and announced the formation of a coalition government.

However, the news from Prague indicates that all these statements are inadequate and that nothing has changed in the opinion of representatives of the opposition. The political ferment is continuing.

The fate of Czechoslovakia appears to rest in the hands of society. Monday's [27 November] 2-hour strike showed just how determined the Czechs and the Slovaks are. There is mounting speculation surrounding the election of the president, who would be, according to some, Vaclav Havel, the writer, dramatist, and spiritual leader of the opposition who enjoys wide recognition in

the West. Others see a president in Aleksander Dubcek, who has returned to the political scene with the old slogan of Socialism with a human face after an interval of 20 years. However, the question is whether that old slogan has retained its powers of attraction for the Czechs and Slovaks?

The country has found itself at a critical stage of transition. Even assuming that the further course of events will proceed according to the most optimistic scenario, it is not hard to foresee that the opposition is about to enter its most difficult period. The opposition political spectrum is broad and extends from anarchists to monarchists. It was no doubt easier to reach agreement about what system of government was to be abolished than to recognize the right of every opposition grouping to express its identity and to campaign for its political program and the methods for realizing it. Political life is just beginning to evolve, but it should be pointed out that Czechoslovakia is a country with great democratic traditions.

The Czechoslovakian authorities seem to have realized that their country is faced with the alternatives of profound political change or a revolutionary situation. For us, for Poland and for all the reform movements, including those in Bulgaria, the GDR, and Romania, the events in Czechoslovakia are of fundamental importance. Success will be an affirmation of eastern central Europe's entry into a new era, a new reality. If Czechoslovakia succeeds, it means that the changes in the center of Europe are irreversible.

Walesa Meets Hungarian Ambassador

LD2911035989 Budapest MTI in English 1946 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 28 (MTI)—On Tuesday, Lech Walesa, president of Solidarity, met in Gdansk with Istvan Roska, ambassador of the Republic of Hungary to Poland.

This was the first time that the president of Solidarity has met an ambassador from an East European country.

The two sides agreed that the Hungarian and Polish reforms stood very close to each other.

Mr Roska told Mr Walesa that the Hungarian people were determined to carry on with the reforms in a peaceful manner.

Mr Walesa stressed that reformists needed to show solidarity with each other, since the democratization processes under way in central Europe catered for the needs of the whole of European civilization.

Both the Hungarian ambassador and Mr Walesa underlined the importance of regular connections.

Rakowski Receives Lower Saxony Official

LD3011060889 Warsaw PAP in English 2034 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 29—Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski received today minister-president of Lower Saxony Ernst Albrecht.

The meeting centered on changes taking place in Poland. Premier Albrecht presented possibilities of development of regional cooperation between Lower Saxony and Poland.

Rakowski Receives FRG's Koschnick

LD2511072889 Warsaw PAP in English 2131 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 24—Polish United Workers Party [PUWP] Central Committee 1st Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski today received Hans Koschnick, deputy to the FRG Bundestag, member of the SPD [Social Democratic Party] board, and chairman of the SPD foreign policy committee.

Rakowski informed his guest about the present state of party dispute preceding its 11th Congress. The significant current of the dispute leads towards the formation of a broad leftist front of democratic socialism's forces.

A major role for the reform-oriented processes within the PUWP is played by exchange of experiences with socialist and social-democratic parties, as well as with the socialist international. In this context both party officials reviewed the possibilities for developing contacts between the PUWP and the SPD.

Rakowski and Koschnick also discussed the problems of building the common European house in the light of the dynamic changes taking place in our continent.

Report on Libyan Official's 23-25 Nov Visit

LD2711181689 Warsaw PAP in English 2009 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 26—Member of Libya's People's Committee of the Bureau for Foreign Liaision and International Cooperation Husni Shaaban visited Warsaw from November 23 to 25.

Husni Shaaban was received by Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs political consultations were held co-chaired by vice-minister Jan Majewski on the Polish side. Reviewed were the bilateral relations in the political, economic and consular spheres with particular stress on the significance of further development of mutually profitable cooperation and formation of conditions suitable for that.

Both sides presented main directions in the foreign policies of both countries in the context of the favourable

development of international relations. Discussed were also some of the regional problems, among them those concerning the situation in Europe, Middle East and Africa. The Polish side reaffirmed its stand on a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict and on national rights for Palestinians.

Issues pertaining to trade and economic and financial relations were discussed in detail during Husni Shaaban's meeting with Vice- Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Janusz Kaczurba.

Libya's Ambassador to Poland Muhammad A. Najah took part in the talks. [Bureau records list Sulayman al-'Uraybi in this post]

Jaruzelski Receives Swiss Assembly Leader

LD2411142189 Warsaw PAP in English 2050 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 23—President Wojciech Jaruzelski today received president of the Swiss Federal Assembly National Council Joseph Iten who has come to Poland for an official visit at the invitation from the Polish Sejm and Senate speakers.

Both statesmen talked about the Polish-Swiss cooperation with special regard to the role of interparliamentary contacts.

The meeting was attended by Speaker of the Sejm Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and Speaker of the Senate Andrzej Stelmachowski. Present was Swiss Ambassador to Poland Richard Geachter.

Jaruzelski Attends Meeting of Sejm

LD3011150189 Warsaw PAP in English 1052 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 30—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski arrived in the Sejm to attend debates here today.

Sejm speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz suggested so that a report by Sejm committees on the Senate stance on the law of November 16 on special principles of socio-economic planning for 1990 and on amendments to some laws be included in the daily agenda. It is urgent due to the need to make it possible for the government to work out draft budget for the next year in due time. The Sejm agreed on the changes in the daily agenda.

Sejm Prepares To Amend Constitution

LD0112041189 Warsaw PAP in English 1814 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 30—The Sejm started its work today from a debate on two different drafts of the amendment of some articles of the Constitution binding today. Sejm deputies of all political orientations think that work will end on May 3, 1991: The entirely new basic law is to be adopted on this distant day. This will take place to mark the bicentenary of the adoption of the Polish Constitution known as the May 3rd Constitution, The first one in Europe and the second in the world (after the American one). Deputies say that, meanwhile, the amended Basic Law, although only adjusted to the changing political conditions, should be binding in the transitional period. The Sejm submitted the drafts mentioned above to the legislative committee for further preparation.

The delegation of the entire Article No 3 (that is, the statement of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] leading role in the state and lasting coalition of the PUWP-the United Peasant and Democratic Parties) is the only common element of the two draft amendments to the binding Constitution forwarded Thursday (the first one by the PUWP floor group and the second by the coalition of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club-the Polish Peasant Party Rebirth-the Democratic Party.)

These drafts differ considerably from each other as regards the remaining questions. The PUWP draft, that limits itself only to the elimination of the article mentioned above, envisages a precise definition of the principles of the operation of political parties in this place. The coalition draft leaves freedom in this respect. The coalition draft envisages a broader scope, that is, the departure from the monopoly of state institutions in foreign trade, guarantees for private property and the subordination of the Public Prosecutor's Office to the government (the justice minister).

Our draft is a minimum programme as the present amendments do not satisfy national aspirations. However, they start the process of legal and state changes. We referred to the continuation of the statehood which in 1945 and later was the object of attempts at discontinuation in the form of introducing the monopoly of one party, (Bronislaw Geremek of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club).

Both drafts are actually a supplement to the amendment of the Constitution of April 1989 (the setting up of the two-chamber parliament, the President's Office). In view of the need to adopt an entirely new Constitution, it is not necessary today to adopt many amendments to the old one (Janusz Trzcinski of the PUWP).

We want to believe that the coalition draft of amendments will create conditions for the equitable and decent life of peasant families as it stresses guarantees for private property so important for them. However, these changes must be followed by swift amendments of legal acts and only this will arouse confidence (Jozef Zych of the Polish Peasant Party-the Rebirth).

We start a genuine process of restructuring the way of ruling this country and a change of the socio-political system into the fully democratic one (Andrzej Bondarewski of the Democratic Party).

The preparation of the new constitution is a long process and that is why a change in the name of the state into the

Polish Republic and the emblem into the white eagle in the crown should be added to the amendment of the old Constitution (Stefan Bielinski of the Democratic Party).

Sejm Discusses Tax Law, Gift Fund

LD0112041289 Warsaw PAP in English 2355 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 30—Today the Sejm focused on constitutional issues. The meeting of the Sejm was attended by Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

National Gift Fund

Deputy Wladyslaw Liwak (Citizens' Parliamentary Club—OKP) presented a deputies' bill on a national gift fund. "The bill has been proposed by 91 deputies representing all parliamentary floor groups, which testifies to the extraordinary character of the draft uniting Poles, irrespective of the existing divisions. Since threats we must face are extraordinary," he stressed.

The fund's means will be allocated for welfare, health care and environment protection, education, science and culture while hard currency means will be assigned to decrease the country's foreign debt if possible. The draft law addresses all citizens, natural persons and economic organizations, Poles at home and abroad. They can donate money, bonds, hard currency and material things to the fund. Their gifts will be exempted from postal, fiscal and tax charges.

The fund wll be administered by an 11-strong supervising council, to be appointed by the Presidiums of the Sejm and the Senate, and a five-strong executive board, to be appointed by the council. Money will be put on bank deposits, valuable material things—at safes at the National Bank of Poland (NBP) and works of art—at museums, libraries and archives, to be chosen by proper authorities.

After a short discussion the Sejm decided that one will be able to convey gifts to the fund till Nov 11, 1990, and adopted the bill on the national gift fund with six abstentions.

Amendments to Tax Law

The next point on the agenda was the first reading of government draft amendments to the laws on executive proceedings and on tax obligations. Presenting the draft, Finance Vice-Minister Marek Dabrowski said that it mainly aimed to make uniform procedure under which to execute and collect taxes from all tax-payers, irrespective of their sector of ownership.

The laws in their previous shape included many privileges for units of the socialised sector, for instance lower interest on delayed tax payments, shorter terms of limitation of unpaid taxes or detailed executive proceedings. These privileges are contrary to the principle of the equality of economic subjects. Therefore the draft amendments propose to lift them and also to improve executive proceedings, he stated.

The Sejm sent the draft to the Committees of Administration and Internal affairs, the Economic Policy, Budget and Finances and the Legislative Procedure.

The last point on today's agenda was deputies' interpellations, to be continued on Friday. [1 December]

Sejm Debates Veterans, Military Courts

LD2511113389 Warsaw PAP in English 2024 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 24—Things changed unexpectedly at the very beginning of today's Sejm debate when Deputy Piotr Kolodziejczyk—after a Sejm committee report on instituting the Office of Minister of Transport and Maritime Economy had been submitted—moved to postpone the decision and asked the government for a more detailed account of its intentions concerning the position of martime economy.

The Sejm adopted the motion and obliged the government to present a more in-depth justification of the planned changes. In this situation, the second related plan to create an Office of Minister of Communications was left undiscussed of course.

There were two meetings at the Sejm today as the Senate went also into session.

The Sejm debate was dominated by questions from deputies which had actually begun on Thursday evening when Deputy Wojciech Zarzycki raised the issue of Westerplatte veterans. Stressing that every Polishman in Poland and abroad considers the Westerplatte defenders as an example of soldierly virtues, he said there were 63 surviving defenders of that strip of land in Poland. Only 5 out of the 207 Westerplatte soldiers were accorded the Polish highest military distinction, the Virtuti Militari. Twenty-three have no right to war veteran's pension.

Having discussed the reply of Defence Minister Florian Siwicki, the deputies decided that the Sejm Presidium would ask Polish president and national defence minister for a quick and honourable settlement of the issue.

The first question to deal with concerned the general reconstruction of correct relations between Poland and expatriate Poles. In a comprehensive report Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski told the chamber that work on amendments to the act on Polish citizenship was being continued.

Minister Skubiszewski shared the concern, voiced in the question, over the mass emigration of young Polish people. Halting the emigration wave will be possible only after the living standards have significantly improved in Poland, he said adding that a draft law on Polish citizen's employment abroad was in the works.

While answering the question asked by Deputy Leszek Czerwinski concerning the compensations for forced labour or slavery in the 3rd Reich, Minister Skubiszewski said that the interested people could address their claims to the association of Poles wronged by the 3rd German Reich but the whole process is rather difficult.

The deputies learned from other explanations delivered today that: A special group examines the reasons of why the Gdansk shipyard wass liquidated and it will also submit a broader evaluation of the shipbuilding industry to the Sejm. The duration of military service depends, among other things, on the size of military conscription, the size of the Army, the number of career officers in the Army, etc. If the regular Army service were cut right now by 6 months, about 204 thousand would have to be recruited which will be impossible within two years from now. The question by Deputy Kazimierz Ujazdowski about the destinies of military court judges and military prosecutors who had taken part in the trials of 1944-1956, took much longer than the reply of Vice- Minister of National Defence Jerzy Skalski.

Ujazdowski read out a long list of notorious trials and verdicts ruled by military courts, quoted dozens of names of judges, prosecutors, and investigators who worked on those cases and also made verdicts. He asked whether any one of them has ever been degraded or stripped of his distinctions received during those years, and whether they continued to get military retirement and disability pensions.

General Skalski said he was unable to answer these questions although he, like the entire Army, dissociates himself from the crimes committed in those years. He asked the Sejm for a little more time to answer the question and informed the house that none of the prosecutors or judges who had taken part in the trials of 1944-56 are now in the Army.

Here are some more pieces of information brought by the government's explanations:

The oil refineries are working full speed. Further increase of fuel supplies will take place in December owing to the 38 million dollars paid for petrol imports. Negotiations continue with foreign companies which are going to sell fuels at hired petrol stations in Poland.

Senate Discusses Amnesty, Socioeconomic Law

LD2511073189 Warsaw PAP in English
0000 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 24—Participants in the 12th Senate meeting, chaired by speaker Andrzej Stelmachowski, discussed a stand on the amnesty law for the longest period of time. Most senators proposed to broaden its benefits, mentioning primarily the hitherto excessively repressive character of the penal law as an argument for the broadening. There were also opinions that the amnesty would reduce the sense of citizens' safety, although some senators thought that the absence of this sense was also the result of a "militia's silent strike." All in all, the current of followers of broadening the amnesty prevailed in proposals contained in the Senate resolution.

The Senate did not raise essential objections to the law on special principles of the socio-economic planning in 1990.

The Senate adopted also a stand on the law passed by the Sejm November 16 on special powers of some persons to be reinstated to their jobs.

The Senate passed also a resolution to hold by-elections to the Senate in the Opole Voivodship where a mandate of Senator Edmund Osmanczyk, who had died recently, expired.

Council of Ministers Holds Session

LD0112052989 Warsaw PAP in English
0111 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 29: The Council of Ministers debated today under the chairmanship of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Report on Mazowiecki's Soviet Visit

The Council of Ministers got acquainted with a report on the Soviet visit by Mazowiecki and the Polish Government delegation. Stressed was the unprecedented, historic character of the visit. It was a fully partner-like meeting which made it possible to place most significant issues for both sides on the plane of inter-state relations. The Polish side welcomed the full acceptance of the ongoing transformations in this country by the Soviet side.

Resolution on Loans

The Council of Ministers authorised the finance minister to sign an agreement on raising loans at the World Bank to finance a program of development of agricultural-food exports and a program of development of industrial exports.

The realization of the former program will make it possible to import updated technologies, licences and equipment indispensable for modernization of various branches of the agricultural-food industry. This will contribute to an increase in production and improvement in the quality of Polish agricultural-food products and result in an increase in profitability of exports.

Whereas funds allocated for the realization of the latter program will be used in export-oriented investment ventures, restructuring of the industry, training of managerial personnel in marketing, finances, management and administration.

Supplies of Engine Fuels

The Council of Ministers familiarized itself with the situation in supplies of engine fuels. Following the lifting

of rationing in the system of selling motor petrol, demand for petrol increased and was not fully met despite increased supply.

During ten months of this year petrol supplies for non-individual customers increased by 419 thousand tonnes, that is by 15.7 percent, against the analogous period last year. Supplies for individual customers were even higher and rose by some 32 percent over the ten months in question as a result of limiting of supplies for units of the socialised sector and of about 67 million dollars' worth of fuel imports.

Numerous break-downs of production installations which took place at refinery and petrochemical enterprises in Plock, producing some 73 percent of all liquid fuels, considerably influenced the state of supplies of engine fuels. Supplies of diesel oil deteriorated owing to a decrease in production.

The Council of Ministers decided that it would be necessary to buy 900 thousand tonnes of crude oil and 180 thousand tonnes of motor petrol in the hard currency zone to ensure proper supplies in the first quarter of 1990.

The body decided that the maintenance of the system of gradual rises of prices for engine fuels conditioned financial possibilities of providing the country with those fuels.

Law on Associations

The Council of Ministers adopted draft amendments to the Law on Associations, aimed to create better legal guarantees for citizens to associate and limit state control over the activity of associations.

Under the draft an unequivocal provision will be introduced that regulations of the law in question do not cover political parties, this being particularly important at the moment when new political parties are formed and being expected to prevent possible conflicts between those parties and state bodies over legality of their activity.

The Council also proposed to lift regulations that guarantee monopoly in the Pathfinders' Movement for the Polish Pathfinders' Union (ZHP).

Mazowiecki Chairs Council of Ministers Meeting

LD2111022789 Warsaw PAP in English
0153 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 20—The Council of Ministers held a meeting presided over by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki today, acquainting itself with work on the provisions of the state budget for 1990 and the adjustment program whose directions were the topic of negotiations with a delegation of the International Monetary Fund which visited Poland in October.

The timetable agreed upon with the IMF enforces a tremendous tempo of work on the program which should become the basis of radical operations to improve the economy.

The discussion pertained to the scope and rate of the implementation of the program. At present Poland's economy is on the brink of collapse. This state, as well as the experience of other countries, exclude the possibility of gradual overcoming of such a profound crisis. This process—requiring sacrifices—must gain social acceptance which is the key precondition of its effectiveness, the government stated.

The Council of Ministers was briefed on the state of work on principle of property transformations in the national economy. The proposed principles and methods of property transformations in state-run enterprises are aimed primarily at boosting effectiveness and stimulating the emergence of a stock market. The government adopted a provision that shares would be sold to the public, to all Poles interested.

The government adopted a resolution on the formation of an economic council which will operate as an advisory and opinion-giving body of the Council of Ministers and the premier.

The Council of Ministers also heard a report delivered by Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski on the course and outcome of FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to Poland.

United Peasant Party Holds 11th Congress

LD2611232589 Warsaw PAP in English
1744 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 26—Following are some highlights from a report delivered to the 11th Extraordinary Congress of the United Peasant Party (UPP) by the Chairman of the UPP CC [Central Committee] Dominik Ludwiczak:

A new political system and new economi s are shaping up in Poland. Reviving are social values.

The peasant movement, peasants, the Polish countryside cannot be absent from these grand changes. Today, following the 4 years of upstaging our party, we do remind everyone that one cannot decide on the destinies of our motherland without the peasant movement.

The UPP was designed 40 years back as a transition formation, as a substitute for a peasant party, which in step with the liquidation of farms was to have been annihilated, too. In the hindsight of the past 40 years, we speak up openly now that the unification of the peasant movement was an act of defeat and not victory.

The UPP did not co-build the Stalinist system. Its social base stood in the way of developing the Stalinist system.

Poland was the only country of real socialism where the collectivization of farming failed and private farms stayed on.

Our objective is to see one and a strong peasant party, evoking the achievements of the peasant movement. The endurable values and principles of agrarianism, to be enriched with the present-day achievements of political thought, should provide the foundation for the programme of a future party.

The similarity of the road covered in people's Poland links peasants with the Catholic church. We do respect also the mediation of the church in the present period, difficult for the peasant movement.

The aim of our party is to strive to get power in the state. We will be trying to achieve that along a parliamentary road. We are for consistent and complete implementation of political reforms and consolidating them in a new constitution. We behold parliament as the supreme form of a sovereign nation. We are in favor of electing president in general elections, in favour of the independence of courts of justice from social movements and political parties.

We come out in favour of market economy.

The greatest store we set by the cooperation with our neighbours, including the Soviet Union, based on the principles of sovereignty, partnership and mutual benefits. Assuming political pluralism as we do, our party will be striving to see the Polish foreign policy be an extra-party matter.

It ensues from the fact of the existence of other peasant parties that we are no longer united, so, accordingly, the name binding thus far must change.

We reiterate our offer for unity. Poland and the countryside need a strong political representation of peasants. The unification of peasant movement may only take place in a democratic way.

Polish Peasant Party Elects Officials

LD2611234589 Warsaw PAP in English
2301 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 26—The first meeting of the chief council of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL)—was held here on Saturday [25 November], PSL spokesman Janusz Poniatowski announced.

The meeting elected a 15-strong chief executive committee (NKW) and five NKW alternate members.

The executive committee elected a six-strong Presidium composed of General Franciszek Kaminski (PSL chairman), Roman Bartoszcze (first deputy chairman), Henryk Bak (second vice-chairman), Edward Kaleta (third vice-chairman), Stanisaw Jekielek (secretary), Franciszek Kiec (deputy secretary), Waclaw Kujawa (treasurer).

New Peasant Party Congress Ends

LD2711234889 Warsaw PAP in English
2130 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 27—A two-day congress of the rebirth of peasant movement ended here today in the adoption of an action program and a statute of the PSL Odrodzenie (the Polish Peasant Party-Rebirth) and the election of authorities of the new party.

Kazimierz Olesiak was elected chairman of the PSL Odrodzenie while Jozef Zych, leader of the parliamentary caucus, was elected chairman of the party Supreme Council. Tadeusz Nowak of Poznan, former close associate of Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, was entrusted with the function of honorary chairman of the party.

The congress elected a 49-strong Supreme Council of the party, a 49-strong Main Audit Commission and the main party court. Those bodies are composed of representatives proposed by voivodship assemblies of delegates.

The congress adopted a program of the PSL Odrodzenie, based on general ideological assumptions of the peasant movement of agrarianism.

Among the most important goals of its activity the PSL Odrodzenie lists the consolidation of Poland's political and economic sovereignty, shaping of a fully democratic state system, protection of human and civil rights, creation of an effective economic system, ensuring equal changes of development for towns and villages, materialization of the idea of social justice, peaceful arrangement of relations between states and nations.

Basing on parliamentary democracy as a system of wielding power, the party aims to consolidate it. Our aim is to take power in the state by means of democratic parliamentary elections, the program said.

The party comes out for unity of all peasant activists since only one great party uniting different currents gives efficient guarantees for realization of aims of the peasant movement.

As for economic issues, the PSL Odrodzenie comes out in favour of general introduction of rules of market economy.

Agriculture should be based on private, economically strong farms run by farmers' families.

As regards international relations, the party is for dissolution of both the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO. The participation in European integration should be linked with Poland's interest.

We attach great importance to friendly relations and cooperation with our neighbours. In relations with the Soviet Union we should ever more deepen cooperation with neighbouring Lithuania, Belorussia and the Ukraine, the program stated.

We attach particular importance to German issues. We recognise the right of the German people to reunification. However, this cannot threaten security of Poland's borders and the existing European order, the program said.

In a stand on the current situation in agriculture and food sector the party came out in favour of the consistent restructuring of the economy, aimed at marketisation, and at the same time it recognised the necessity of state interventionism under specific circumstances.

In a resolution on commemorating Stanislaw Mikoljaczyk the congress, paying tribute to his achievements, obliged the party supreme authorities to bring his ashes to the homeland after his family gives consent to this.

A resolution on victims of the Stalinist system in Poland demanded that persons responsible for wrongs be taken into account.

In a resolution on peaceful transformations in Europe the congress greeted with joy the ongoing socio-political transformations in countries of eastern and central Europe, especially among Poland's closest neighbours. It voiced solidarity with peaceful struggle of nations for dignity of individuals, full sovereignty and independence.

The congress turned to Poles and Polonia in the world to tighten contacts with Poland in the difficult and historic period for the country.

Following the motion of chairman of the parliamentary caucus Jozef Zych, the congress adopted a resolution suporting the coalition government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, including members of the PSL Odrodzenie.

The resolution expressed the conviction that problems of the Polish countryside and agriculture would be solved by the government in cooperation with the PSL Odrodzenie and its parliamentary caucus with regard to current needs and principles of social justice.

The statute of the PSL Odrodzenie describes the party and a national political party following the praiseworthy traditions of the peasant movement and aiming to consolidate the democratic state as well as win and keep a proper social standing of the countryside.

The chairman heads the PSL Odrodzenie, it is said in the statute. He represents the party outside, heads the work of the Executive Committee, pursues the current policy of the party. What is a significant novelty in comparison to the statute of the United Peasant Party (ZSL) is that the chairman may be dismissed by the Supreme Council.

Under provisional regulations delegates to the congress of peasant movement rebirth become members of the PSL Odrodzenie unless they submit resignation in a month. The assets of the ZSL become the property of the PSL Odrodzenie.

The congress adopted a resolution on problems of membership—members of the ZSL become members of the PSL Odrodzenie unless they resign from membership until a specific date.

The congress appointed a commission for agreement between the PSL Odrodzenie and other streams of the peasant movement and an extraordinary commission for substantial assessment of ZSL authorities' activity between the 10th and the 11th congresses.

The congress ended in singing the traditional Polish song "Rota" which was chosen to be the anthem of the party.

Prosecutor's Office Reassesses Najder Case

LD3011224389 Warsaw PAP in English 2145 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 30—As already reported, the Supreme Court—military chamber—examined the extraordinary appeal made by first chairman of the Supreme Court in favour of Zdzislaw Najder, former head of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe, who had been sentenced in absentia to death for spying by the court of the Warsaw Military District in 1983.

Taking into account the aforesaid appeal, the Supreme Court quashed the verdict and transferred the Najder case to the Supreme Military Prosecutor's Office to supplement preparatory proceedings. In connection with the passed verdict, the court of the Warsaw Military district cancelled the warrants of capture for Zdzislaw Najder.

After receiving on October 25th, 1989, the files of the case and the written substantiation of the Supreme Court's verdict, the supreme military prosecutor's office immediately started to make suitable inquiries.

All the most important witnesses to this case and other persons who could explain new circumstances of significance to the case are being interrogated anew.

Envisaged are also other court proceedings indispensable for all-round and fully objective assessment of the case.

Criticism of Economic Program Rejected

AU2711105989 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Nov 89 pp 1, 2

[Piotr Aleksandrowicz commentary: "The Realities and the Illusions"]

[Text] There has been an increasing volume of criticism of the government's economic program. TRYBUNA LUDU, ZYCIE WARSZAWY, POLITYKA, and ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE are publishing article after article which throw doubt on the general principles of the program, as well as on its details. The timetable and the speed of the reforms have also been subject to attack. Apart from those of economists and scholars, the pages of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] papers carry

comments by past premiers, ministers, and first secretaries of the PZPR. Today they all seem to know what to do, although during their own time they were singularly unable to save the Polish economy, and on the contrary, thanks to their efforts the crisis today is even deeper.

The main accusations against the economic program can be reduced to several points; too much market economy, and too little state presence; too much privatization, and too little planning; and of course, everything is being done too rapidly. It is often the case that the very people who clamored for radical steps yesterday have become the advocates of applying the brakes today.

It will not be amiss to recall several facts now. First, the government's economic program is not an attempt at further "reforms," but is a program aimed at changing the system. It is not a program of "continued improvements" or further reforms, but of fundamental change, because—and this has been particularly illustrated by the last few years—there is no point in trying to reform something that is best thrown onto the scrap heap. There is no sense in pursuing gradual transformation, because practice has shown that partial reforms bog down, they are dissipated, and finally, they grind to a complete halt.

Second, the government's program does not postulate a quest for a new socialism, or the mythical "third way." It is a program that aims to create—in as rapid a time as possible—a market economy, with a dominant part in such an economy being played by private ownership in all its forms. The program is attempting to create a system that was not thought up behind an office desk and is not the product of 19th and 20th century ideologists, but is a system which exists in highly developed countries. In its attempt to reach its goal, the government does not intend to use half-measures and to wait until everything falls into place by itself, but it is planning a tough and consistent state implementation of market mechanisms and the privatization of the economy. The question of time is crucial. Every week and month that goes by means that society will have to pay that much more. It is not true to say that there is no state presence or plan in the economic program. These elements are especially strongly represented, but often in a different guise than the one that the supporters of "real socialism" would like to see.

Third, the opponents who accuse the government of toughness and setting a too rapid pace of change do not put forward any alternative themselves, other than to propose more of the old quasi- reformatory meanderings for the next few decades, much along the lines of what happened in the 1980's. It is certain that without foreign help a rapid regeneration of the economy is not possible, nor is it possible to introduce a single system of exchange for the dollar or even partial convertibility of the zloty. This proposed alternative program of creeping toward reforms would never gain acceptance by the international community and would not produce any serious international support which could be measured in dollars. Mr Deputy Premier Sadowski and his concepts did not receive any such support in their time, and Mr Glowczyk as an alternative leader of the state's economic program would be laughed out of office. The present government's program has received such support because, among other things, its program postulates rapid and fundamental changes.

Some economists, publicists, journalists, and past politicians are now trying to convince Polish society that the Mazowiecki economic team consists of a bunch of madmen, obsessed liberals, doctrinal marketeers, or antisocial elements expelled from the circle of economists. All of these allegations are untrue, but in politics the practice of setting up your opponent is as old as time itself. Nevertheless, the government's program contains many protective and social measures which aim at lessening the effects of the rapid economic changes, at least for some social groups. In Poland, nobody dies of cold or hunger—and they will not die so—because our basic human solidarity will not allow such a thing to happen, but this is exactly the sort of dark atmosphere that the government's critics are trying to create.

In stark contrast to its predecessors, this government does not promise any miracles, it does not maintain the pretense that Poland is a wealthy country which can afford a broad social security program—a program of social security modeled on wealthier countries. The government is acting within its reality, while its opponents are trying to spin a web of illusions for us. The costs of the government's reform program are substantial and will fall on the whole of Polish society, but in comparison, the social costs of the last 40 years and the alternative program of treading in one place are immeasurably higher. The same can be said for the cost of continuing experimentations with the system which the opponents of the government would dearly like to implement.

The criticism of the government's radical economic program completely misses the target. A program that attempts to sever the expensive experiment of the last 40 years cannot be anything but radical.

Comaneci Reportedly Heading for United States

AU0112111689 Paris AFP in English 0925 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Grenoble, France, Dec 1 (AFP)—Nadia Comaneci, the former Olympic gymnastics champion who has defected from Romania, is heading for the United States and could already be in New York, according to a former team-mate now coaching in France. Theodora Ungureanu, who competed with Comaneci in Montreal in 1976, and her husband Sorin Cepoi received a telephone call from Marta Karoly, wife of gymnastics coach Bela Karoly, from her Texas home late on Thursday, saying: "She is due to arrive in New York on Thursday night, but she will not be coming to us in Houston."

Cepoi said from the couple's Grenoble home that on Wednesday, Comaneci had called Ungureanu to say: "I am in Hungary at the moment and I do not intend to return to Romania. I want to go to the United States instead." Cepoi and Ungureanu believe Comaneci had travelled to Switzerland and taken refuge in the American embassy in Berne, although this was denied by an embassy spokesman.

Ceausescu 23 Nov Interview With ARD Reported

AU2911213689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2020 GMT 29 Nov 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Interview With the ARD Association of Broadcasting Organizations in the Federal Republic of Germany"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/11/1989—An interview was released in Bucharest that President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania granted, on 23 November, to Dagobert Lindlau, Vienna Bureau chief of the ARD Association of broadcasting organizations in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Referring to changes worldwide, the Romanian head of state said:

This is a time of deep changes social, national, political in the balance of forces that have a strong impact on the international life as a whole.

Stressing that many grave world problems are still unresolved, Nicolae Ceausescu showed that arming, nuclear arms come first posing a serious threat to the existence of mankind since, unfortunately, they not only have not been reduced, but continue to accumulate. And there is even talk to modernize them.

Hence, Romania's president pointed out a first problem that should concentrate the attention of all peoples, especially of those in Europe, in disarmament, the elimination of nuclear weapons, the scrapping of all nuclear arms in Europe first and foremost as soon as possible.

Another complex problem, Nicolae Ceausescu showed, is underdevelopment, the widening gap between rich and poor countries, and the tens of billions of dollars that go every year from poor countries which are known to make up more than two thirds of mankind to rich countries, further aggravating the international situation.

Mentioning the situation in Europe, Nicolae Ceausescu assessed: Although many years have passed since the Helsinki meeting, few of its targets have been achieved. Europe continues to be divided into military blocs. Many problems are being discussed but their settlement is being delayed. I am referring to the customs barrier policy and to all kinds of restrictions in the economic, technical and scientific relations which to tell the truth have been growing.

It seems that the interpretations of certain European problems as to how situations originating in the past should be handled and the current problems are such that they actually prevent the adoption of reasonable measures in the spirit of the Helsinki documents, that is to say of a broad cooperation set on the principles of equality and non-interference in domestic affairs of all the countries of Europe.

In this context, referring to today's problems in Europe, in certain socialist countries included, Nicolae Ceausescu said:

As far as Romania is concerned, it declared and took action as early as 1965 for the construction of socialism in agreement with realities in it, discarding "models" and set patterns. We started from the idea that socialism should have a scientific foundation, that it should give people true equality and a high standard of civilization materially and spiritually.

Changes are under way in certain socialist countries that are allegedly aimed to perfect socialism. Considering our position of principle we cannot but welcome this. Because socialism like any other social system should always be set on the latest advances in science which calls for the permanent elimination of all that is outmoded, in every field, all that no longer accords with the new realities.

What we can hardly understand is that there are people who think this perfection should be achieved by reverting to earlier forms that socialism eradicated many, very many years ago because when they were used they failed to help the respective countries develop.

This is something I spoke about at the Congress, Romanian Communist Party general secretary underscored and went on to say:

We are of the opinion that the peoples, the political forces in the respective countries will eventually find the best way to improve socialist development which can meet the interests of the respective peoples and agree with the principles of scientific socialism.

I wish to stress that socialism is not to be unconceived [as received] by us unless basic social problems are solved,

unless equality among people is achieved and an end is put to their division into rich and poor.

Setting forth the guidelines set by the Fourteenth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party to orient Romania's development in the years to come, after he had surveyed Romania's achievements along the socialist path in the past 45 years and, more particularly, after the Ninth Party Congress, held in 1965, Nicolae Ceausescu said:

We are aware that that was only a stage, a highly important one, of course, but, still, only a stage. To fulfil the aims of multilaterally developed socialism as we call it we still have a long way to go. To this end, the Fourteenth Congress intends to set the targets for Romania's advance in the period to follow so that in the not too distant future until the years 2000-2010 Romania may turn into a multilaterally developed socialist country apt to fully meet the requirements of the people as a whole, to assert itself in the world as a developed country in every respect.

In the next five years already, we plan to improve Romanian industry and conclude, in broad lines, the drive aimed at its organization on modern basis, according to the latest gains in science and technology.

At the same time, we intend to raise the level of agriculture which, in fact, secured record crops this year, placing Romania among the first countries in the world in this respect. We want our agriculture to be able to fully meet all the requirements for the country's development. And our aim is also to raise the general standard of living of villages and of the farmers.

Until 1995 we also plan to completely solve the urban housing problem, offering dwellings to all citizens. As a matter of fact we have already given new dwellings to 80 per cent of the population of our country's towns and to more than 90 per cent of the population of Bucharest.

We intend to improve education and culture. We have achieved a passage to compulsory 12-year education and I should like to tell you that all forms of instruction, academic education included, are free of charge. With these measures as a basis, we want to help our young people espouse the latest gains in science and technology, the laws of the development of human society, so that the Romanian people as a whole may see a powerful rise in its scientific standard. We want our youth and our people as a whole to boast rich general knowledge. This is a guarantee for our march forward.

We place great emphasis on science, on education and on culture. This is something we did in the past, too, something we will also do in the future, believing this to be the only way to attain our development targets, to raise the Romanian people's standards, so that it may be one of the free, dignified nations of the world that boast a high standard of living.

And we believe this is something we will manage to do.

At the same time, I should like to stress that we plan to broadly develop our international economic, technical, scientific and cultural collaboration with all the states, irrespective of social system, and to take active part in the settlement of the complex issues of the international life.

We want to contribute to the building of a world free of inequalities and of the policy of force and dictate, of interference in the domestic affairs of other states. We work for a world free of weapons and wars, which is in the interest of all peoples.

Furthermore, we want truly new relations to develop in Europe, in the spirit of the Helsinki documents. We want broad collaboration without interference in domestic affairs to develop, we want conditions to be offered for the progress of each nation and of each people. We want to live in a united Europe, a united Europe of free, equal and independent nations.

We consider that it is only suchlike Europe that may put corresponding conditions in place for all peoples' progress, offering the possibilities for our continent to play an important role in the international life.

Sibru Attends Meeting Marking Palestinian Day

AU3011090289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2102 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/11/1989—A meeting marking the international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people, arranged by the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relation With Foreign Countries and the Romanian League of Friendship With Peoples in Asia and Africa, was held in Bucharest, on 29 November.

Attending were executives of the Foreign Ministry, the CC [Central Committee] of the UCY [Union of Communist Youth], UCSAR [Union of Communist Students Associations of Romania], Women's National Council, party and state activists, people working in Bucharest enterprises and institutions.

The attendance included heads of diplomatic missions of Arab countries accredited in Romania.

The significance of the event was evoked by Ion Sirbu, secretary of the SDUF [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front] National Council.

Next, Ismail Ahmad Muhammad, charge d'affaires ad-interim of the State of Palestine in Bucharest, addressed the attendance and warmly thanked the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], Socialist Romania and the Romanian Party and State Leader Nicolae Ceausescu for the support to and solidarity with the Palestinian people's cause, the fight for the assertion of its legitimate rights.

Petrescu, Andrei Attend Albanian Reception

AU2911193589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1829 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/11/1989—On the 45th anniversary of Albania's liberation day and of the victory of the people's revolution, the Albanian ambassador in Bucharest, Piro Vito, gave a reception on November 29, attended by Barbu Petrescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], mayor-general of the capital, Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, deputy prime minister, executives of ministries and central institutions, mass and public organizations, men of culture and art, journalists.

Diplomatic heads of mission accredited to Romania and members of the diplomatic corps were present.

Ceausescu Receives Departing Polish Ambassador

AU2911193489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1752 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/11/1989—President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received on November 29 Jerzy Wozniak, Polish ambassador, who paid a farewell call on ending his mission to Romania.

During the interview, emphasis was placed on the Romanian-Polish relations of friendship and collaboration and the wish was expressed to work for their further development and strengthening, to the benefit of both countries and peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace.

The Polish ambassador warmly thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu, the State Council and the Romanian Government for the support given to him in discharging his mission to Romania.

Further on Slovene Reaction to Serb Proclamation

No Official Reaction

AU3011193189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Since this morning, special police measures against gatherings and movements of large groups of citizens have been in force in Slovenia. However, there has been no official reaction to yesterday's statement by the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia. The expected session of the Executive Committee of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia, and the predicted press statement by Joze Smole, have been probably postponed until tomorrow. Zivojin Jerotijevic and Relja Atanasijevic report from Ljubljana:

[Begin recording] [Jerotijevic] There are few people in the streets of Ljubljana, as always during a weekend [30 November is the second day of SFRY National Holiday]. Although the situation is not usual, nobody enters or leaves the buildings of the Slovene Assembly or the Central Committee. Outside, the whole city looks as if nothing had happened. The reserve of the public at large is so great that it is really difficult to divine what unofficial Slovenia really thinks and how it experiences these events.

Semiofficial Slovenia, which means attributed statements on radio and television, has been gloating slightly because there will be no meeting. The main stress is nevertheless on trying to blame the other side for the aggravation of relations. However, nobody in Yugoslavia can be persuaded to accept this because factual evidence is lacking. After all, one knows exactly which side introduced special police measures against the participants of the Meeting of Truth. Participants were called barbarians and terrorists by the highest people in Slovenia. One knows that against terrorists, one applies antiterrorist measures, including firearms. This is the logic of the matter that cannot be avoided, unless one thinks here that to shoot at empty-handed people is a peacetime occupation.

[Atanasijevic] A large number of Yugoslav journalists have arrived in Ljubljana, and they wish to hear the position of official Slovenia. Unofficial and semiofficial reports were circulating this morning to the effect that the Executive Committee of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People will meet at noon, and that Joze Smole will probably make a statement after the session. In conversation with Dusan Semolic, secretary of the Republican Conference, immediately before the announced session, we were told that it appeared, and perhaps it might be certain, that there would be no Executive Committee session and no press statement by Joze Smole.

To be on the safe side, we asked Primoz Hinz, member of the Executive Committee, who is the duty official in the Republican Conference today, and he said, I quote:

There will be no session and no Smole statement today. We feel no need to react in a hurry. We have achieved what we wanted. There will be no meeting of escalation in Revolution Square in Ljubljana on 1 December.

Hinz added that several members of the Executive Committee had a brief consultation and then went home. Asked when an official stand by the Socialist Alliance of Working People can be expected, Hinz replied that the official reaction will follow within the framework of the institutionalized system.

If this follows the formula, The system is good but it does not function, journalists will have to wait for an official stand of Slovenia.

Although barriers and bans prevented the arrival of trains from southern regions to Ljubljana, one has noticed more frequent militia patrols in their squad cars around the railroad and bus stations. As far as we know, no undesirable persons, except for some stray individuals, have been noticed to be present in the city. [end recording]

Statements on Proclamation

AU3011194289 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Excerpts] We have asked some of our political representatives to make a statement about the latest aggravation or rather the reaction of Serbia to the meeting ban in Ljubljana, for the Republic of Serbia decided to break cooperation with Slovenia. [passage omitted]

Dusan Semolic, secretary of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia, said the following in his statement for Radio Ljubljana:

[Begin Semolic recording] The statement by the political leadership of Serbia unfortunately comes as no surprise. This is a march of the policy of violence which has been surprised by the resolve of Slovene society to defend its sovereignty and self-respect with all legal and legitimate means. When we resolutely said in Slovenia, Democracy Yes, Mob Democracy No, their scenario, the scenario of a Trojan horse involving the marchers in our Ljubljana, collapsed.

When we have made it known that freedom, democracy, and peace are priceless to the people of Slovenia and they would not renounce theses things, the Serbian political leadership in its panic resorted to measures that were last used in Europe during Stalin's times. In this way this leadership symbolically revealed its impotence as well as the fate of its policy.

Whatever may happen these days—and much will certainly happen, for the scenario writers do not conceal their threats to Slovenia and are ever louder in their

threats to Croatia and to the federal organs—it is nevertheless important, I would say crucially important, that we should not give in, that we should know and say what we are against now and tomorrow, and that we should not abandon ourselves to passions that would drive us on to a road where an aggressive brutal policy is laying in wait.

In brief: it is serious this time. What is at stake is the fate not only of Yugoslavia but also of Slovenia as a republic, and freedom of everyone of us. [end recording]

Joze Skolc, president of the Slovene Youth Organization, in a lengthy statement said among other things the following:

[Begin Skolc recording] The proclamation of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia is in a way welcome. [words indistinct] irrational forces [words indistinct] brain that is out of control. Now we possess irrefutable proof that this is a strategy of the Serbian policy striving for predominance in Yugoslavia.

Discussions will begin about whether the reaction by the Slovene authorities was too rough and too sharp. The conclusion should be to blame (?Slovenia) for a possible civil war. One should not (?enter) into such a discussion, not because it is imposed by others, but primarily because a overt threat has been answered with legitimate means. Let me repeat: The ban and the prevention of the meeting and of any possible further acts that may be invented are a (?precise) expression of the sovereignty of the Slovene state. [end recording]

Milos Prosenc, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, has been interviewed by telephone. Let us hear his statement:

[Begin Prosenc recording] I think that we should not react in a similar vein, certainly not. We should not threaten with what we could do, how we could break business and other relations. It would make no sense. At the same time we must again clearly state that nobody will toy with us, that we take our sovereignty seriously, and that only sovereign peoples can live together in a multinational federation. [end recording]

Government Statement

AU3011215889 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1800 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] At its session in Ljubljana today, the Slovene Executive Council assessed that the direct call by the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People to an economic and general blockade of Slovenia means the greatest threat yet to the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] idea of Yugoslavia. A special statement was adopted, which was read by Dusan Sinigoj, president of the Republican Executive Council:

[Begin Sinigoj recording] The reaction by the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia, supported by endorsements in some parts of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, which came together with the cancellation of the Meeting of Truth in Ljubljana announced for tomorrow, additionally confirms how correct the decision was to ban the meeting in Ljubljana.

In accordance with the laws that are in force we have protected the sovereignty of our Slovene state and thus decisively protected the strengthening of democracy, in Slovenia and beyond. The call from Serbia to break cooperation of that republic's institutions with Slovenia reveals, more than anything before has revealed, the true intentions of this policy. This policy does not contribute to the strengthening of joint life in Yugoslavia but denies the right to live in Yugoslavia to those who think differently or who think in their own way.

The Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia at its session today assessed that the direct call from the Socialist Republic of Serbia to an economic and general blockade of our republic means the most direct threat yet to the AVNOJ idea of Yugoslavia. The Executive Council knows that the economic stick has two ends, as experience shows, and it is therefore convinced that momentary political interests and pressures cannot interrupt economic cooperation, at least not permanently. Therefore Slovenia will remain wide open to Yugoslavia and the world, as is has been, and ready to preserve and to enhance historical friendship between our peoples.

The Executive Council checked today how the republican administrative organs had ensured the implementation of the ban on the Ljubljana meeting and it resolved that it will consistently implement the request by its assembly. Therefore, the decrees that the republican secretary for internal affairs has issued will remain in force. The Socialist Republic of Slovenia will of course continue to respect and to implement the SFRY Constitution, including the provision that every republic is responsible for its own development and for the joint development of all Yugoslavia. We have been acting in this way until now and we will continue to do so in the future.

The latest events significantly pose the question of the sense of our life together. Without civilizational achievements of democracy, without human rights, without our inclusion in the integration processes in Europe, we cannot develop into a democratic and economically efficient community of equal peoples and nationalities.

One cannot achieve all this with the threats of destructive marches, with the fermenting of destructive passions among people and entire nations, with the threats to depose legally elected state organs, the pressure of mass meeting democracy. Therefore, one must prevent the

activities of the plotters of these acts. Only then we will be able to tackle the most important tasks of our economic and political reform.

The resolute stand by the Federal Executive Council and by some republics, expressed in the past few days against the announced meeting, confirm our view that we in Slovenia are not alone in our thinking.

We Slovenes have made our living with our own work and brains, and we have no other option in the future. We can contribute most to a settlement of the situation in Yugoslavia and at home by standing upright, behaving in a dignified way, and not allowing ourselves to be provoked, as it behooves sovereign people who have their sovereign state. We have strengthened this state with our constitutional amendments. I am convinced that for this very reason we will maturely withstand this test. [end recording]

Montenegrin Demands on SFRY Leadership Voiced

AU3011201589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] A meeting was held in Titograd today, at which several hundred people demanded that one should march on Belgrade tomorrow and express one's protests at the Slovene leadership's conduct. This idea was dropped. In this connection, the Committee Organizing the Departure of Montenegrins to the Ljubljana Meeting has issued a statement that was read by Moma Joksimovic to those gathered in Titograd:

[Begin Joksimovic recording] The Montenegrin people demand that the state and party leadership of the SFRY should perform its constitutional and statutory powers and that it should urgently take the prescribed measures to restore the constitutional order in Yugoslavia that has been undermined by the Slovenia's leadership and by all those who support that leadership and its policy wrecking the country.

If the Yugoslav state and party leadership do not meet our demands, the people of Montenegro will join other peoples of Yugoslavia to make their demands directly in front of the SFRY Assembly.

In order to grant sufficient time to the appropriate organs so that they may fulfill our demands—the deadline cannot exceed 15 days—the committee informs the citizens and the workers class of Montenegro that the departure for Belgrade is being postponed until further notice. [end recording]

Advises Against Belgrade Visit

LD3011214889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1528 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Titograd, 30 Nov (TANJUG)—The previously set-up committee for organizing the trip by citizens and workers from Montenegro to the meeting of truth in Ljubljana, today appealed to the Montenegrin public to cancel the announced journey to the protest meeting in Belgrade. This stand was explained as in accordance with the appeal of the "Bozur" organization committee from Kosovo, as well as with a prevailing view at the committee session that such a rally would at this moment be superfluous and even harmful.

The committee session demanded the dismissal of Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, who, as stressed in the conclusions, contributed to the behavior of the Slovene leadership with his earlier stands.

Kosovo Polje Decides Against Belgrade Meeting

AU3011205889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Communal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Kosovo Polje has also had its say. Milivoje Mihajlovic reports:

At its extraordinary session this evening, the Presidium of the Communal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Kosovo Polje appealed to all the citizens to desist from organizing any meeting in Belgrade. The Presidium of the Kosovo Polje Socialist Alliance of Working People supports the proclamation of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia and most sharply condemns the Stalinist decision by the leadership of Slovenia to ban the movement of citizens and vehicles from outside its territory, in order to prevent the Meeting of Truth.

The Slovene authorities decision is an unprecedented anti-civilizational act and at the same time it is a direct attack on the integrity of Yugoslavia. The meeting was used as a pretext for the introduction of emergency measures in Slovenia, so that it may be made clear to Yugoslavia that Slovenia will be a part of Yugoslavia only to the extent that it suits it and is in its interest, the statement by the Presidium of the Communal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Kosovo Polje says.

It is also pointed out that a group of Slovene leaders, fearing for their own cushy positions, has raised accusations against Kosovo Polje citizens, calling them wreckers, barbarians, and terrorists.

The session of the Presidium of the Kosovo Polje Socialist Alliance of Working People Communal Conference this evening demanded that the provisions of the Proclamation of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia should be consistently implemented. This statement was also read at an improvised meeting of about 300 citizens of Kosovo Polje.

The committee of the Kosovo Polje Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins has also issued a statement in which it insists that citizens should desist

from their intention to go to a meeting in Belgrade, because—as the statement says—the Belgrade meeting is now desired only by enemies of Yugoslavia.

Novi Sad Citizens Abandon Ljubljana Meeting

LD3011151489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1133 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 30 Nov (TANJUG)—It has been officially announced that there will be no departures to Ljubljana from Vojvodina. There is however a possibility that all those who were planning to go to Ljubljana will meet outside Novi Sad railway station this evening, circles close to the Novi Sad based association, Solidarnost, have stated unofficially.

It is not inconceivable that the gathering this evening could spontaneously turn into an opportunity for expressing indignation at Slovenia's conduct. It is also possible that a decision would be made this evening to set off for Belgrade especially after rumours that groups of citizens from Kosovo and Montenegro are also planning to travel to Belgrade.

'Several Dozen Citizens' Rally in Ljubljana

AU0112132489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana—Several dozen citizens, mostly Serb and Montenegrin nationals, rallied at Revolution Square in the center of the town at about noon. Militiamen arrived very soon thereafter and called on the people to disperse peacefully. The Militia detained five of the most vociferous people, who carried a banner with the solgan "This Is Still Yugoslavia," a Yugoslav flag, and an EEC flag. The gathering lasted for over an hour.

After a larger militia patrol, the so-called special unit, arrived, participants in the rally and citizens at Revolution Square dispersed peacefully.

Further on Square Rally

AU0112133689 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1300 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] There is no meeting in Ljubljana today and there will be none. We must nevertheless report that a group of some 60 or 70 people appeared in Revolution Square at noon today. Journalists from Yugoslavia and abroad of course are most numerous among them. The main media star (?was a man carrying) the Yugoslav and the European flag.

Among those present, there was a woman from Maribor who rather hysterically scolded the Slovene leadership and she also did not forget to mention the nation.

It seems that feelings prevail over necessary reason. Obviously those in Serbia rarely think about (?unpleasant) consequences of such behavior in (?their own field), and outbursts of feelings are being manifested in (?breaking the windows) of agencies of Slovene firms in large Serbian towns.

Serbian Elections Deemed 'Not Democratic'

AU2111153289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Nov 89 p 2

["Open letter" from the Committee for the Protection of Freedom of Thought and Expression to the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Public entitled "Elections Without Alternative"]

[Text] Around the end of July of this year, the Commission of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia published the basic stances on the reform of the political system, in which it announced the possibility of a greater democratization of the existing setup which is still based on the one-party monopoly on power. Particularly favorable was the commission's proposal that citizens may "freely organize themselves into various alliances and associations on the democratic basis guaranteed by the Constitution, through which they may express autonomously their interests, views, and proposals," and that a group of citizens may nominate candidates for various posts by collecting signatures. We interpreted the second proposal literally, that is, as the possibility for a certain number of citizens to collect signatures and thereby to put forward candidates who would then be put on the election lists obligatorily and directly. The number of signatures would be established by law ranging, for example, from 20 signatures for a candidate to a local community council to 500 for a candidate to the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

This possibility of democratization has not at all been fulfilled and the forthcoming elections in Serbia are again organized according to the well-known election model. Candidacy conferences have been legally set up again to serve as a mediator between proposed candidates and voters and as a reliable sieve which should protect "official" and "politically right" candidates from any rivals from the ranks of spontaneously proposed and potentially oppositional candidates for 90 seats in the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Although over 400 candidates were proposed for the Socialist Alliance list alone, not one of them was given the opportunity to present his own program and no public debate was held in which various standpoints and views about the way out of the crisis could be expressed and debated whereby voters would be given the real opportunity of selection.

In order to allow voters to decide in favor of the leadership now in power without any manipulations and compulsion, they must be given the opportunity to have an opposite side—alternative candidates or political programs—because only then will the people be able to choose the first possibility, that is, to support the existing leadership, in a really free manner. Since, however, this opportunity to choose is not ensured and allowed, the forthcoming elections will not be democratic and free,

nor will they be real elections. Delegates elected in such a way can hardly be legitimate representatives of the people of Serbia.

[Signed] On behalf of the Committee: Ljubomir Tadic, Enriko Josif, Kosta Cavoski, Belgrade

Croat Assembly Informed About Albanian Protests

AU2211142889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Nov 89 p 12

[Gordana Gojak report: "Intervention in Accordance With the Law"]

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 2 Nov—The disturbance of public peace and order during the protest meeting against the trial of Azem Vlasi by Albanian nationalists in Republic Square in Zagreb on 30 October of this year was the main reason for the intervention by the organs of internal affairs. This intervention was in accordance with the law. This was stated today at the session of the Executive Council of the Croatian Assembly, whose delegates heard and endorsed the report of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs on the protest meeting held because of this trial.

The report, which was read by Vilim Mulc, republican secretary for internal affairs, states that the internal affairs organs had the information that the citizens of Albanian nationality were going to hold a meeting in Republic Square in Zagreb on 30 October at 1700 as a protest against the trial of Azem Vlasi and the others. This was indicated by two posters in the Albanian language on the Nina Markovic and Cvijetno Naselje student campuses inviting students to join in the protest.

In addition, the youth radio station informed the listeners that protest meetings will be held every day during the trial and that they will be held at 1700 in Republic Square. Considering that similar protests were held a day earlier and that a hostile slogan (Kosovo—republic) was hurled at them, and considering that one could not exclude the possibility of clashes, the Zagreb City Secretariat for Internal Affairs undertook a number of operational measures in order to promptly protect people and property if they happen to be endangered. [passage omitted]

At about 1715, unidentified persons handed several banners to the protesters: "Tito, Kosovo, party, Vlasi"; "We want Vlasi released"; "We want the freedom of Kosovo and all peoples"; "Counterrevolutionaries, leave League of Communists of Yugoslavia"; and "Croatian intelligentsia, help." [passage omitted]

At about 1830, an unidentified youth (later identified as a citizen of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and of Croat nationality) who was watching the column of people, cursed vulgarly at Vlasi saying: "Go back to Kosovo and protest there." [passage omitted] After that, he followed the column to the north part of the square and continued his insults, shouting: "Down with Vlasi, down with Vlasi." This provoked about 30 youths in the column to pursue the young man, with the intention of beating him up. One of them caught him and hit him.

Preventing Incidents

Considering that all of this was leading to the possibility of a more serious disturbance of peace and order, Vilim Mulc continued, the head of security demanded (at about 1837) that the reserve militia forces be activated. They immediately proceeded toward the demonstrators. As soon as they appeared, the demonstrators started to disperse without there being any physical contact. Therefore, the means of coercion were not used and the attack on the person who had provoked a group of demonstrators was prevented. [passage omitted]

Slogans

The following slogans were heard at Republic Square: "Free Vlasi"; "Long live Tito"; "Tito—party"; "Croat brothers, we are stronger together"; "West, West"; "Trepca, Trepca"; "Miners, persist"; "We do not want arms, we want freedom"; "We are not nationalists"; "We are not separatists"; "We are not irredentists"; "We are yours, you are ours"; "Azem is not guilty"; "Let Azem free"; "Better a grave than to be a slave"; "Tito—Vlasi"; "Tito is ours"; "We want freedom"; "We want Kosovo"; "Give us what Tito gave us"; "We are not giving away what Tito gave us"; "Down with Rahman Morina"; "Morina, traitor"; "Sloba [Slobodan Milosevic], Chetnik." [passage omitted]

Defense Secretary Visits Third Army Region

AU2011110789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28-29 Oct 89 p 11

[TANJUG report: Veljko Kadijevic Concludes Visit to the Third Army Region: Resolutely Against Delusions"]

[Text] Skopje, 27 Oct (TANJUG)—Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, concluded his visit to the Third Army Region today. During the past few days, General Kadijevic and his aides visited commands and units in the garrisons of Titograd, Pristina, Titova Mitrovica, Nis, Surdulica, Kumanovo, and Skopje. They attended regular training of young soldiers and were acquainted with the results in combat building and strengthening of the moral-political state and the conditions of life and work of soldiers and officers. Lieutenant General Stojan Asprovski, commander of Territorial Defense of Socialist Republic of Macedonia, and Major General Zoran Kostovski, republican secretary for national defense, with their reports supplemented the picture of the combat readiness of the territorial defense units and of the defense readiness of society in that part of the country.

During the concluding meeting with officers of the Third Army Region Command, headed by Lieutenant General Zivota Avramovic, General Kadijevic and his aides paid

tribute to the soldiers and officers for the efforts they make daily in their training and for the results they attain in strengthening their combat readiness and their moral-political stand. General Kadijevic pointed out the development of the present international events and their influence on our security.

In particular, he spoke about the current socioeconomic and political trends in our country and the tasks of the Yugoslav People's Army personnel. In this connection he stressed that the time and the circumstances in which we live do not allow any relaxation but, on the contrary, demand additional efforts of all the Army personnel to confront everything that threatens, or could threaten our security and integrity of the country. The care for the people, for every man, for their education, life, and health is the officers' task, and success in this job is the basic criterion for their efficiency, the federal secretary stressed.

The backbone of the educational-political work should be direct contact with men. Officers must constantly work on strengthening internal unity and strength of the collective, must develop vigilance, and ensure a high-level of organization and precision in the work of performing their military tasks. With political and other activities, one should persistently work on eliminating the delusions and even nationalist burdens with which some young recruits from some communities come into the Yugoslav People's Army. The building of consciousness about belonging to a common motherland is a noble task that constantly remains topical.

During the day, the federal secretary for national defense and his aides had talks with Jezdimir Bogdanski, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia: Vulnet Starov, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia; Gligori Gogovski, president of the Executive Council; Mihail Danev, secretary of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia, and other republican leaders, and acquainted themselves with the economic, political security, and defense and protection situation in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. They acquired an insight in the implementation of the development programs. Satisfaction was expressed with the results of cooperation, especially with the share of work organizations in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia in fulfilling contracts for the Yugoslav People's Army. Particular attention was devoted to the implementation of the special-purpose production programs, which among other things accelerate the economic development of the republic.

It was jointly assessed that a comprehensive social reform was needed so as to overcome the complex socioeconomic and political situation in the country. It was stressed in this connection that it is necessary to ensure the success of the 14th extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress and speed up the work on the adoption of a new SFRY Constitution. It is unanimously thought that a careful examination of all the proposals in a calm atmosphere, an efficient work of state organs, and a resolute struggle to overcome the enormous inflation are needed for this purpose.

BORBA Outlines Yugoslav Antidrug Effort

AU2111161889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Oct 89 p 8

[Nada Spasic article: "Yugoslavia in the World War Against Drug Producers and Traders: Special Agents Against Special Agents"]

[Excerpts] The world has proclaimed a war against drug producers, couriers, and traders. The policemen of the world have decided to invest not only tremendous sums, but also much knowledge, effort, and brain power to prevent this dirty trade. [passage omitted]

What is the situation in our country? we asked Ivica Trutin, chief of the Administration of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

It is well known that our country is a transit territory, that many international routes pass through it, and it is therefore understandable that drugs are carried through our country, too. According to what we know, it is a matter of billions [currency not specified] that are also attractive to citizens of our country, so that they, too, join in the world-scale business. According to some estimates by world organizations, the drug trade accounts for many more billions of dollars than oil. [passage omitted]

According to Ivica Trutin, Yugoslavia has become well-involved in the respective international agreements. We have signed virtually all of the conventions and we successfully cooperate with all of the countries in the world, he says. Interestingly, the Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs assesses that as a country, we are much better organized for the struggle against drug smuggling than the real danger of drug addiction in our country demands.

Discouraging Assessments

According to Ratko Dimitrijevic, chief inspector in the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, since 1983, when 137 Yugoslavs were arrested for illicit drug trading, the number of arrests increased every year and reached 454 last year. Until 30 September of this year, 2,380 citizens of our country were arrested in 7 years. Most of them were Albanians.

It is supposed that the participation of the Albanians in this trade arises from family and friendship links with citizens of Turkey, where must drugs were confiscated last year (one quarter of the total of drugs confiscated in Europe). According to Interpol, it is reckoned that Turkey also has the largest number of laboratories to process drugs.

In Yugoslavia recently, seven Tanzanians were arrested at Belgrade Airport on separate occasions; they tried to

smuggle capsules containing drugs hidden in their bodies. On international flights, it happens more and more frequently that passengers who neither eat nor drink during a flight arouse suspicions, and the appropriate customs services are informed of their behavior. Drugs are often found on them, Ratko Dimitrijevic said.

There has been much concern among the public on whether drug smuggling money is used to finance terrorist actions, not only in the world, but also in Kosovo in our country. We asked Ivica Trutin what the opinion was in the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

It is difficult to assert that money from these sources is used to finance counterrevolution in Kosovo, but it is also a fact that the money "accumulates" in the territory of Kosovo. We notice an incredible turnover of real estate and thousands of marks are in play, so one can have one's suspicions, but there has been no tangible evidence, Trutin says.

Let me say in conclusion that our country has obviously achieved noticeable results in confiscating drugs, we have received a number of international tributes, but the officers are not lulled by this. On the contrary, they estimate that the illegal drug trade will continue to grow.